

A NEW  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,

FROM THE  
DESCENT of the ROMANS,  
TO THE  
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO  
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.

Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*

*Bolingbroke from Dion. Hall*

---

VOL. XXIV.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. CROWDER and Co. in *Pater-noster-Row*,  
and J. WILKIE, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard.*

A NEW

MAP OF

ENGLAND

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ROMANS

AND OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

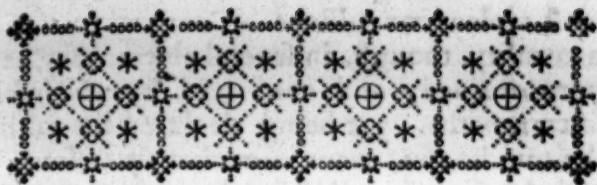
IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE



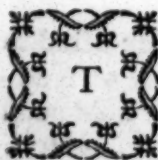


T H E

# History of ENGLAND.



The HISTORY of CHARLES I.  
continued. A. D. 1643.



HE situation of England was, at this time, truly wretched and deplorable. Not only were the different counties and provinces engaged in open war against each other; every town, every village, almost every family was divided within itself; and

the whole kingdom was shaken with the most violent convulsions. Conventions for a neutrality, though, in several places, they had been formed, and confirmed by the most solemn oaths, yet being declared illegal by the two houses, were immediately dissolved, and the fire of civil discord was diffused into every quarter.

The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but above all, the declamations of the pulpit, exasperated the minds of men against each other, and augmented the blind rage of party. Fierce, however, and inflamed as were the dispositions of the English, by a war, both civil and religious, that great destroyer of humanity; all the transactions of this period are less disgraced by atrocious deeds, either of treachery or cruelty, than were ever any intestine commotions, which had so long a continuance: a circumstance, which will be found to reflect great honour on the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.

In the north, the lord Fairfax acted as general of the parliament, the earl of Newcastle as the king's. This last nobleman was the author of those associations, which, afterwards, became so common in other parts of the kingdom. He engaged in a league

league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham ; and, soon after, he persuaded other counties to join in the same association.

Hearing that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham and the garrison of Hull, was reducing the southern parts of Yorkshire ; he suddenly marched with a body of four thousand men, and took immediate possession of York. At Tadcaster, he fell upon the forces of the parliament, and obliged them to quit the place ; but his victory was not decisive. In several other actions he gained some petty advantages : but the chief benefit, accruing from his enterprises, was the maintaining the king's authority in the northern counties.

In another part of the kingdom, the lord Broke was killed by a shot, while he was securing Litchfield for the parliament. He happened, it seems, to be surveying, from a window, St. Chad's cathedral in that city, where a party of the royalists had fortified themselves.

He was clad in complete armour, but was shot in the eye by a random bullet. He was a zealous Puritan ; and had formerly said, that he hoped to see the ruin of all the cathedrals in England. The royalists

## 6 *The History of* ENGLAND.

were pleased to interpret this accident in their own favour: they represented it as a just judgment of heaven for his impiety; and observed, that he was killed on St. Chad's day, by a shot from St. Chad's cathedral, which pierced that very eye with which he hoped to see the ruin of all cathedrals.

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself among the parliamentary generals. After reducing Winchester and Chichester, he directed his march towards Gloucester, which was in a manner blockaded by lord Herbert, who had raised a considerable army in Wales for the royal party. While he charged the Welch on one side, the garrison of Gloucester attacked them on the other. The enemy were routed; five hundred men were left dead upon the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and Herbert himself escaped with difficulty to Oxford.

Hereford, accounted a strong town, secured by a numerous garrison, was surrendered to Waller, from the pusillanimity of colonel Price, the governour. Tewkesbury shared the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; and Waller, without leaving any garrisons in his new conquests, returned to Gloucester, and thence repaired to the army under the earl of Essex.

But

But the most important events, during this winter-season, happened in the west, where Sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troop, fled into Cornwall before the earl of Bedford. That nobleman, despising so inconsiderable a force, relinquished the pursuit, and left the task of suppressing the royal party to the sheriffs of the county.

But the inhabitants of Cornwall were strongly attached to the king's interest. While Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew lay at Launceston, and exerted themselves with great industry in executing the parliament's ordinance, with regard to the militia, a meeting of the county was summoned at Truro; and after Hopton shewed them his commission from the earl of Hertford, the king's general, it was resolved to put the laws in force, and clear the county of these invaders. The trained-bands were accordingly assembled, Launceston reduced, and all Cornwall subjected to the authority of the king.

Encouraged by this success, the Cornish royalists determined to levy a force, which should do his majesty more effectual service. Sir Bevil Granville, the most popular man of that country, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevanion, undertook, at their own expence, to  
assemble

## 8. *The History of ENGLAND.*

assemble an army for the king; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to accomplish their purpose.

The parliament, informed of these proceedings, sent orders to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to collect all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and to make an entire conquest of Cornwall; and the earl of Stamford was ordered to join him with a considerable supply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, hastened to an action; lest Stamford should come up, and divide with him the honour of that victory, of which he was assured, and the glory of which he meant to appropriate solely to himself. The royalists, in like manner, were desirous of bringing the matter to an issue before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradoc-down; and the king's forces, though inferior to the enemy in number, obtained a complete victory. Ruthven, with the shattered remains of his army, fled to Saltash; and when that town surrendered, he escaped, almost alone and unattended, into Plymouth. Stamford returned, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the Cornish royalists were so distressed for want of



money and ammunition, that they were glad to agree to a convention of neutrality and with the parliamentary party in Devonshire ; and this neutrality lasted during the winter. In the spring it was broken, by order of the two houses ; and war was renewed, seemingly with great disadvantage to the royal party.

Stamford, having collected a body of near seven thousand men, well furnished with money, provisions, and amunition, marched against the royalists, who were not half his number, and were almost destitute of every necessary accommodation. But the natural gallantry of these troops, headed by the prime gentry of the county, made them overlook these disadvantages ; and they determined immediately to give the enemy battle.

Stamford, being encamped on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning, having lain all night on their arms. One division was conducted by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Bassett and Godolphin.

In this manner the action began ; the king's forces advancing with the utmost vigour

gour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies as obstinately endeavouring to repulse them. The fortune of the day seemed very doubtful, till the Cornish officers were informed, that they had only four barrels of powder remaining. This defect, which they took care to conceal from the soldiers, they determined to supply by their courage. They agreed to keep their fire, till they should reach the top of the hill, where they could be on equal ground with the enemy.

The bravery of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the parliamentary forces began, on all sides, to give way. Major-general Chidley, who commanded them (for Stamford kept at a distance) behaved with great intrepidity; for when he saw his men recoil, himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and rushing into the thickest of the fight, was at last surrounded and taken prisoner. His men, dispirited by this event, gave ground apace; insomuch that the four parties of royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they advanced, at last all met upon the plain at the top; where they celebrated their victory with shouts of joy and exultation.

The transactions in the west were now become of so much importance, that they engaged



gaged the most serious attention, both of the king and parliament. The king dispatched the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice with a body of horse; who having joined the Cornish army, soon subdued the county of Devon; and penetrating into Somerset, began to reduce it to subjection.

On the other hand, the parliament, having assembled a considerable army, and bestowed the command of it on Sir William Waller, whom they much trusted, enjoined that gentleman to march westwards, and oppose the progress of the royalists. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Granville was here slain; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder, was dangerously hurt.

The royalists next endeavoured to march eastwards, and join their forces to the king's at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and harassed them with continual incursions. Strengthened by additional troops, which crowded to him from all quarters, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they were afraid any longer

longer to continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action.

It was determined that Hertford and prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry ; and, having obtained a reinforcement from the king, should return to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, being informed of the distress of his western army, had dispatched, to their assistance, a considerable body of horse, under the command of lord Wilmot.

Waller resolved, if possible, to prevent the junction of these two armies ; and, forming his men upon Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes, advanced with his horse to fight Wilmot. But he was received by the royalists with great bravery. After a sharp conflict, he was entirely defeated, and, flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, having seized the enemy's cannon, and joined his friends whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, and, after a short but obstinate fight, he totally routed the whole army.

This signal victory, together with the many other advantages, which the royalists had lately gained, struck the parliament with a sudden panic, and gave an alarm to their principal army, commanded by Essex. Waller complained loudly of that general for suffering Wilmot to pass him, and advance without molestation to the relief of the distressed infantry in the Devizes.

But Essex, finding that his army gradually diminished after the siege of Reading, was determined to keep on the defensive; and the king too, from the inferiority of his numbers, and the want of military stores, was prevented from taking any step of importance. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish, which, of itself, was of little consequence, and was rendered remarkable alone by the death of the famous Hambden.

Colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who had engaged in the parliament's service, having conceived some disgust, deserted the cause of his old masters, and went over to the king's party. In order to shew the sincerity of his conversion, he acquainted prince Rupert with the loose disposition of the enemy's quarters, and advised him to make some sudden attack upon them.

## 14 *The History of* ENGLAND.

The prince, who was well qualified for that kind of service, falling unexpectedly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, defeated two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and advanced within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm was no sooner given, than every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the prince, to rescue the prisoners, and to wipe off the disgrace which the army had suffered.

Among the rest, Hampden, who commanded a regiment of infantry, that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer; and coming up with the royalists on Chalgrave-field, plunged at once into the hottest of the battle.

By the courage and conduct of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was carried to Oxford. But what gave the greatest pleasure to the royalists, was the hope that some misfortune had happened to Hambden, their capital and most formidable enemy. In this opinion they were farther confirmed by the intelligence of one of the prisoners, who said, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, quit the field before the end of the action; his head hanging down, and

and his hands resting upon his horse's neck.

Next day, the news arrived, that he was wounded in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after he died in exquisite pain ; nor could the parliament have been more deeply affected, had their whole army suffered a total defeat. The king himself so greatly admired the aimable endowments of this excellent patriot, that, had he survived a few days longer, he intended to have sent his own surgeon to assist at his cure.

Essex, disheartened by this event, and by the total rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the queen, who had landed in Burlington-bay, had arrived at Oxford, and had brought from the north a fresh supply of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Departing from Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, he thought it most adviseable to withdraw nearer London, and he showed to his friends his broken and dispirited forces, which, a few months before, he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition.

The king, freed from the constraint in which he had lately been held, dispatched his army into the west, under the conduct of prince Rupert ; and by their junction

## 16 *The History of* ENGLAND.

with the Cornish troops, a very formidable force, both for numbers and valour, was formed. In order to answer the expectations which were generally entertained of this powerful army, the prince determined to undertake the siege of Bristol, the second town for wealth and greatness in the kingdom.

The place was defended by a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot and two regiments of horse, commanded by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, himself, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader. The fortifications not being finished, it was determined by prince Rupert to storm the city; and next morning, with little other provision proper for the work, besides the courage of the troops, the assault began.

The Cornish troops, in three divisions, attacked the west side with invincible resolution; but though the middle division had already mounted the wall, so great was the disadvantage of the ground, and so vigorous the defence of the garrison, that the assailants were at last repulsed with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the prince's side, the assault was conducted with equal bravery, and almost with equal loss, but with greater success. One party



party, headed by lord Grandison, was repulsed, and the commander himself mortally wounded : another, conducted by colonel Bellasis, met with the same fate : but Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain more accessible than the rest, broke in, and quickly made way for the horse to follow.

By this irruption, however, nothing but the suburbs were yet gained : the entrance into the town was still to be forced : and by the loss which they had already suffered, as well as by the prospect of farther danger, every one was extremely dispirited ; when, to the great joy of the whole army, the city offered to surrender.

The garrison were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. For this act of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards brought to a trial, and condemned to lose his head ; but he obtained a pardon from the general.

Loud complaints were made of the outrages committed upon the garrison, contrary to the articles of capitulation. The royalists alledged, in excuse, the many violences which had been offered to their friends at the surrender of Reading. And on pretence of like retaliations, but in ef-

## 18 *The History of* ENGLAND.

fect from the extreme hatred of the parties, were such cruelties practised during the whole course of the war.

The loss, suffered by the royalists in the reduction of Bristol, was by no means inconsiderable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished in the assault. Among those of rank were Grandison, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle : Bellasis, Ashley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded : yet was the success upon the whole so considerable as greatly encreased the courage of the one party, and diminished that of the other.

The king, to show that he bore his good fortune with moderation, and still preserved a pacific disposition, issued a manifesto, in which he repeated the protestation, formerly taken with great solemnity at the head of his army, and declared his firm resolution to conclude a peace upon reasonable terms.

Having joined the camp at Bristol, and detached prince Maurice with a body of troops into Devonshire, he began to deliberate what course he should next pursue. Some were of opinion that he should advance directly to London ; where every thing was in great confusion, where the army of the parliament was baffled, weakened, and intimidated, and where, it was imagined,



gined, either by insurrection, by victory, or by treaty, that a speedy period might be put to the war : but that project, by reason of the great number and strength of the London militia, was deemed by many to be wholly impracticable.

Gloucester, situate at the distance of twenty miles, was considered as an easier, and yet a very important conquest. It was the only garrison which remained to the parliament in those quarters. Could that city be taken, the king would command the whole course of the Severn ; the rich and disaffected counties of the west, being deprived of all protection, might be compelled to pay large contributions, in order to maintain the army : a communication would be kept open between Wales and these new conquests : and half of the kingdom, being thus reduced to obedience, and formed into a compact body, might be easily employed in restoring the king's authority throughout the remainder. Such was the reasons for undertaking the siege of Gloucester ; a scheme, which, however promising in appearance, was productive of the most fatal consequences to the royal party.

The governor of Gloucester was one Mafsey, a brave and experienced officer, who before he had engaged with the parliament, had

had made a tender of his service to the king; and from thence it was supposed that he would be the more willing to listen to terms of accommodation.

But Massey was resolved to discharge, with fidelity, the important trust which had been committed to him: and upon the first summons of surrender, he sent two of the citizens; who delivered an answer in the following terms: "We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message, return this humble answer: that we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity: and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament: and are resolved, by God's grace, to keep this city accordingly." The king, convinced by this message that nothing was to be expected from fair and gentle means, began the siege with great vigour, and the garrison defended themselves with no less bravery and resolution.

The parliament was no sooner informed of the siege of Gloucester, than they immediately determined to send a powerful army

army to its relief; but their attention, in the mean time, was engrossed by an affair of a more private, and perhaps of a more interesting nature.

Edmund Waller, the poet, was a member of the lower house; a man of considerable estate, and not more remarkable for his fine genius, than for his parliamentary talents, and for the politeness and the elegance of his manners. As keen and satirical in his eloquence, as tender and affecting in his poetry, he attracted the attention of his hearers, and exerted the utmost boldness in condemning those violent measures, which the commons had lately adopted. Finding all opposition within doors to be ineffectual, he attempted to form a party without, which might compel the parliament to agree to reasonable conditions, and restore the nation to its former tranquillity.

With this view he engaged in his interest the earl of Northumberland, the lord Conway, Tomkins, his own brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins. After some private consultations, it was judged possible to frame a combination among the lords and citizens, and, by mutual concert, to refuse the payment of the exorbitant taxes, imposed by the commons. While this affair was in  
agita-

## 22 *The History of* ENGLAND.

agitation; and lists were taking of such as were supposed to be favourable to their design; a servant of Tomkins, who had overheard their discourse, immediately carried the intelligence to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were arrested and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned to death, which the two latter suffered on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the first escaped with a fine of ten thousand pounds.

A covenant, as a test, was taken by the lords and commons, and imposed on the army, and on all who resided within their jurisdiction. Besides promising to amend their lives, the covenanters declare, that they will never lay down their arms, until the enemies of the constitution, now in open war against the parliament, shall be delivered up to justice: they express their detestation of the late conspiracy: and they engage to assist, with all their might, the forces, raised by both houses, against the forces levied by the king.

The suppression of this conspiracy contributed greatly to confirm the authority of the parliament, and seemed to secure them against all future attempts of the like nature. But, by the rapid progress of the king's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the  
reduction

reduction of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, the fears of the people were greatly alarmed, and the cry for peace was renewed from all quarters.

About five thousand women, with a petition for that purpose, surrounded the house, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were giving for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had abandoned the parliament, and repaired to Oxford: Clare and Lovelace had followed their example: Northumberland had withdrawn to his country seat: and even Essex himself was highly dissatisfied, and advised the parliament to agree to a treaty. The upper house sent down terms of peace more moderate than had hitherto been offered. It even passed by a majority among the commons, that these propositions should be transmitted to his majesty.

The popular leaders took the alarm. A petition against peace was formed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the present mayor. Great numbers accompanied him, and renewed all their former menaces against the moderate party. The majority was soon brought back to the other side; and all hopes of peace being entirely blasted, every preparation was made for resistance,

## 22 *The History of ENGLAND.*

agitation; and lists were taking of such as were supposed to be favourable to their design; a servant of Tomkins, who had overheard their discourse, immediately carried the intelligence to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were arrested and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned to death, which the two latter suffered on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the first escaped with a fine of ten thousand pounds.

A covenant, as a test, was taken by the lords and commons, and imposed on the army, and on all who resided within their jurisdiction. Besides promising to amend their lives, the covenanters declare, that they will never lay down their arms, until the enemies of the constitution, now in open war against the parliament, shall be delivered up to justice: they express their detestation of the late conspiracy: and they engage to assist, with all their might, the forces, raised by both houses, against the forces levied by the king.

The suppression of this conspiracy contributed greatly to confirm the authority of the parliament, and seemed to secure them against all future attempts of the like nature. But, by the rapid progress of the king's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the reduction



reduction of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, the fears of the people were greatly alarmed, and the cry for peace was renewed from all quarters.

About five thousand women, with a petition for that purpose, surrounded the house, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were giving for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had abandoned the parliament, and repaired to Oxford: Clare and Lovelace had followed their example: Northumberland had withdrawn to his country seat: and even Essex himself was highly dissatisfied, and advised the parliament to agree to a treaty. The upper house sent down terms of peace more moderate than had hitherto been offered. It even passed by a majority among the commons, that these propositions should be transmitted to his majesty.

The popular leaders took the alarm. A petition against peace was formed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the present mayor. Great numbers accompanied him, and renewed all their former menaces against the moderate party. The majority was soon brought back to the other side; and all hopes of peace being entirely blasted, every preparation was made for resistance,

## 24 *The History of* ENGLAND.

assistance, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester, which the parliament justly considered as of the utmost importance.

Massey, determined to make a vigorous defence, had hitherto sustained the siege with invincible courage, and had totally baffled all the attempts of the king's army. By continual sallies, he harassed them in their trenches, and dismounted their batteries; by disputing every inch of ground, he cooled the ardour and alacrity of their prowess, elated by former successes.

His garrison however was greatly diminished; his provisions and ammunition were almost exhausted: and he took care to acquaint the parliament, that, unless he received immediate assistance, he should of necessity, be obliged to surrender the place to the enemy.

The parliament, in order to retrieve their ruined affairs, and recover the ground they had lost, now exerted themselves with the utmost activity. They voted that an army should be raised under the conduct of Sir William Waller, whom, notwithstanding his late misfortunes, they justly regarded as an excellent commander. Having engaged in their interest, the counties of Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Huntingdon, they gave a commission



to the earl of Manchester to be general of the association, and ordered an army to be levied under his direction.

But what employed their chief attention, was to complete the army of Essex, on which their whole fortune depended, and which they proposed to send to the relief of Gloucester. They insisted a great number of fresh troops: they even had recourse to the expedient of pressing: and they persuaded the city to furnish four regiments of its militia for this important service.

Essex, departing with an army of fourteen thousand men, directed his course by the way of Bedford and Leicester; and though inferior to the king in cavalry, yet, by the mere force of conduct and discipline, he passed safely those open champaign countries, and repelled the attacks of the enemy's horse, who endeavoured to oppose him, and who continued to harass him, during his whole march. As he advanced towards Gloucester, the king was obliged to abandon the siege, and allow Essex to enter that city.

The garrison was now reduced to the utmost extremity. All their ammunition was expended except one barrel of powder; and their other provisions were in the same proportion. Essex furnished them with a suffi-

## 26 *The History of* ENGLAND.

cient quantity of military stores; the neighbouring country abundantly supplied them with all kind of necessaries; and thus Gloucester was not only delivered from its present danger, but was likewise enabled to resist any attempt, which the king should make against it for the future.

But, notwithstanding the success with which Essex had raised the siege, the chief difficulty still remained. He dreaded a battle with the king's army, on account of their great superiority of horse; and he determined, if possible, to return to London, without exposing himself to that danger.

Leaving Gloucester early in the morning, he arrived at Tewkesbury in the evening; where after having continued five days, he made a feint as if he meant to proceed towards the city of Worcester. By a forced march, during the night, he advanced to Cirencester, and gained the double advantage of passing safely an open country, and seizing a magazine of provisions, which was lodged in that town.

Without delay he directed his course towards London; but when he approached Newbury, he was surprized to find, that the king, by hasty and rapid marches, had arrived before him, and was already in possession of that place. An action being now judged

judged inevitable, Essex drew up his men with great presence of mind and with no less military skill and conduct. The battle was fought by both sides with the most invincible courage and the most determined bravery. Essex's horse were several times broke by the king's, but his infantry kept themselves in a firm and compact body; and besides maintaining a continued fire, they opposed an impregnable rampart of pikes against the furious assault of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentry, of which the royal cavalry chiefly consisted.

The London militia especially, though totally unacquainted with action, though called but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet being thoroughly practised in all military exercises, and being universally inspired with the most ardent zeal for the cause, in which they were engaged, performed, on this occasion, the most noble and distinguished acts of valour.

From morning to night the fight was maintained with equal bravery, and almost with equal success, till darkness approached, and put an end to the combat. Next day Essex continued his march; and though his rear was continually harrassed by the king's cavalry, he arrived in London without any considerable loss, and received the applause,

## 28 *The History of* ENGLAND.

which he so well merited for his courage and conduct during the whole enterprize. The king followed close at his heels, and having entered Reading after the earl left it, he there established a garrison; and straitened, by that means, the neighbourhood of London, and the quarters of the enemy.

The loss of the two armies, in the battle of Newbury, was nearly equal in point of number; but with regard to the quality of the persons, was most considerable on the part of the king; for, besides twenty field-officers of great military experience, there fell the earls of Sunderland and Caernarvon, two noblemen of promising hopes, and the lord viscount Falkland, secretary of state, one of the most perfect and accomplished characters that ever appeared in this or in any other nation.

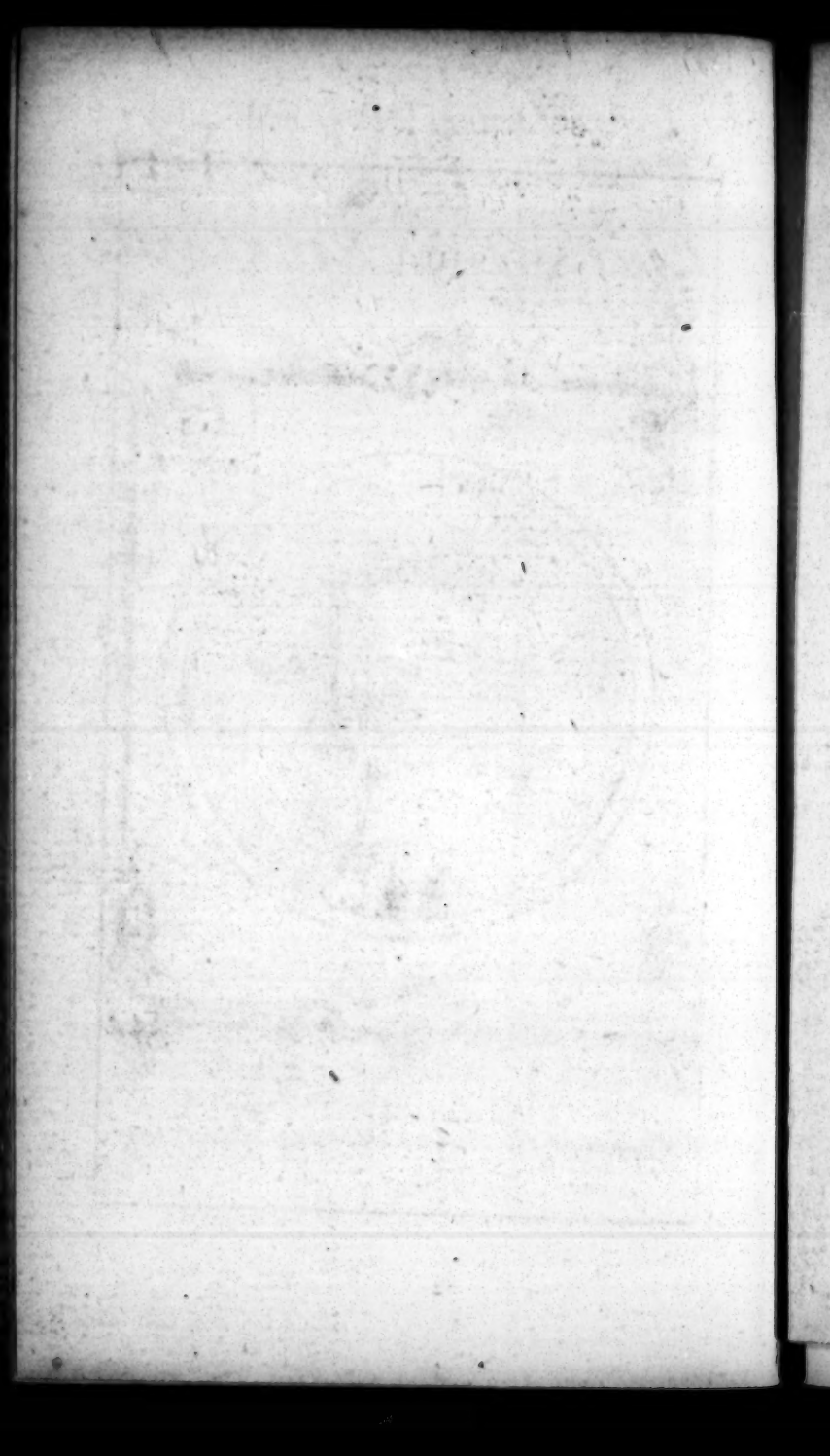
In the northern counties, during this summer, the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable army for the king; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. But the marquis was opposed by two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began, about this time, to distinguish themselves by their bravery and military conduct.

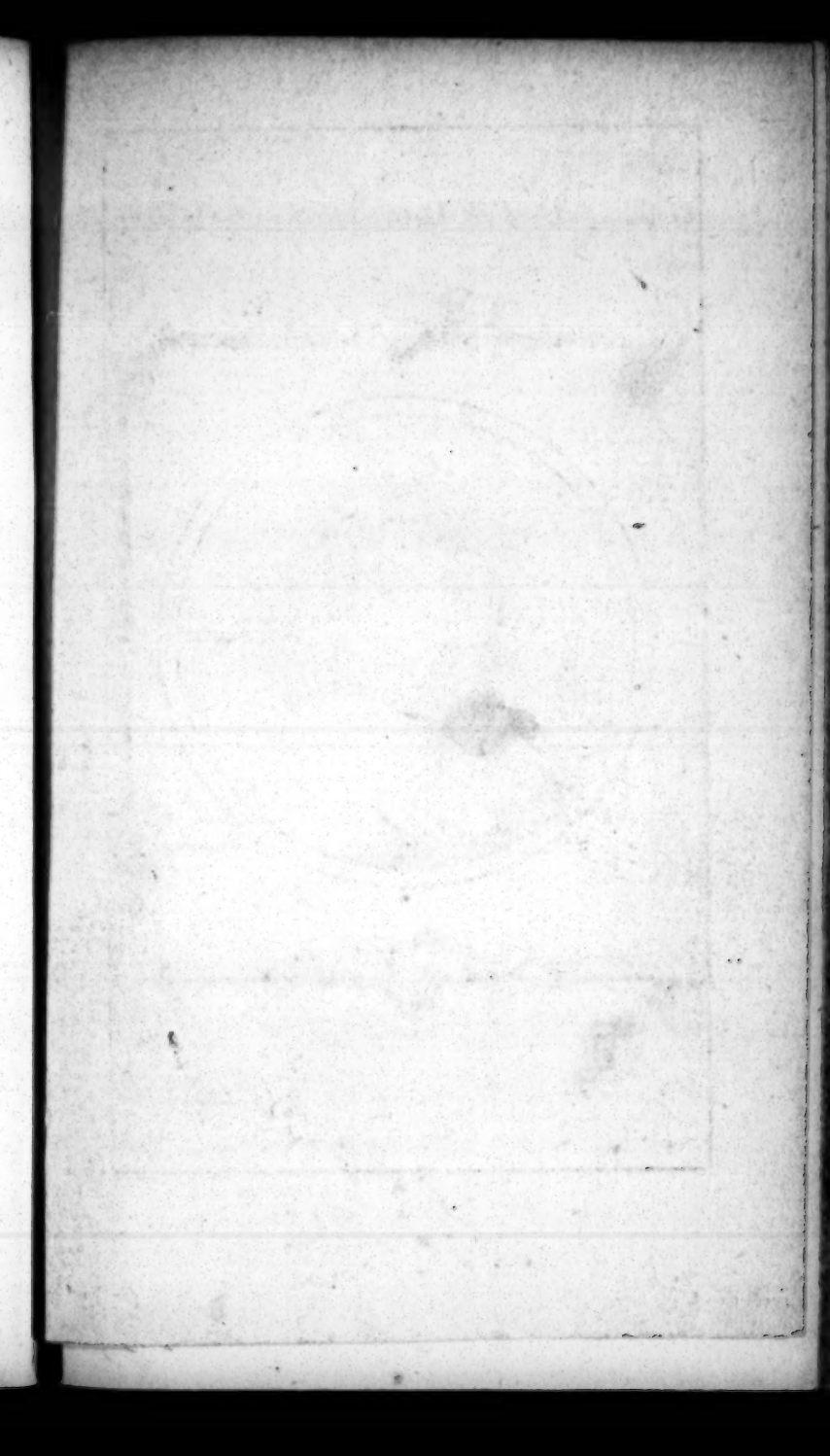
These

*CARY* Viscount *FALKLAND*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England*







*CAVENDISH D. of NEWCASTLE.*



*S. Skelton sculp*

*Engraved for Rider's History of England*



These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and the famous Oliver Cromwell. The former beat a strong detachment of royalists at Wakefield, and took general Goring prisoner: the latter routed at Gainsborow another party, commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action.

These two losses, however, were more than compensated by the total defeat of lord Fairfax at Atherton-moor, and the dispersion of his whole army. After this victory, Newcastle invested Hull with an army of fifteen thousand men. This place was no longer commanded by Hotham. That gentleman and his son, partly disgusted with the measures of the parliament, partly repenting of their opposition to the king, had engaged in a secret correspondence with Newcastle, and had signified their intention of surrendering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being discovered, they were immediately seized and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they were both condemned and executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Newcastle having prosecuted the siege of Hull for some time, was at last repulsed by a sally of the garrison; in which he suffered so much, that he was obliged to abandon the  
C 3 enterprize.

### 30 *The History of* ENGLAND.

enterprize. About the same time, Manchester arrived from the eastern associated counties, and being reinforced by Cromwell and young Fairfax, gained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn-castle; where the two officers last mentioned performed the most noble feats of military prowess.

By these reciprocal advantages, however, the event of the war became more doubtful, and both parties, finding themselves unable to terminate the quarrel by their own force, began to solicit the assistance of the neighbouring kingdoms. For this purpose, the parliament applied to Scotland; the king to Ireland.

The commons, from the very commencement of the civil dissensions, had ever entreated the Scots to interpose their mediation, which, they knew, would be so favourable to their own cause; and the king, for that very reason, had always endeavoured to decline it.

In the beginning of this year, the earl of Loudon, lord chancellor, accompanied by other commissioners, had repaired to the king at Oxford, and renewed the offer of mediation; but with no better success than before. The commissioners were likewise ordered to sound the king on the article of religion,

gion, and to recommend to him the Scottish form of worship and discipline.

This was a point, however, which they were no more able to gain than the other. Charles was prompted, as well by the motives of interest, as by the dictates of conscience, to reject such a proposal. Prelacy he considered as not only essential to the support of monarchy, but likewise as of divine origin. He, therefore, desired the commissioners to remain satisfied with the concessions which they had obtained in Scotland; and having modeled their own church, according to their own pleasure, to indulge their neighbours with the like liberty, and not to interfere in matters, of which they were entirely ignorant, and with which they had no concern.

In consequence of the late regulations, introduced into Scotland, the king was obliged to convoke a parliament once in three years; and in June of the subsequent year, was fixed the time for the meeting of that assembly. Before the expiration of that period, Charles imagined he should be able, by some decisive action, to compose the present troubles of England, and might then expect with greater security the meeting of a Scottish parliament. Though strongly importuned by Loudon to convoke immediately  
that

that great council of the nation, he absolutely refused to give authority to men, who had already so much retrenched his authority, and who still showed an inclination to confine it within more narrow bounds.

The commissioners, therefore, finding it impossible to obtain any of their demands, desired a safe conduct for London, where they might confer with the English parliament; and being likewise denied in this request, they returned with extreme disgust to Edinburgh.

The office of conservators of the peace had been lately established in Scotland, in order to maintain the alliance between the two kingdoms; and these, encouraged by the general voice of the whole nation, were determined, since they could not procure the king's consent, to summon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of estates; an assembly, which, though it meets with less pomp, possesses the same authority as a parliament, in raising forces and imposing taxes.

Hamilton, and his brother the earl of Laneric, who had been sent into Scotland, in order to prevent these measures, were either unable or unwilling to effect their purpose; and a convention was accordingly called. The general assembly of the church

church met at the same time, and by the great popularity which they possessed in the nation, exercised a considerable influence over the deliberations of the other court.

No sooner was the English parliament informed of these proceedings, than they immediately dispatched commissioners to Edinburgh, in order to contract a more intimate union and alliance with the Scottish nation. The persons employed in this affair were the earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher and Henry Darley, accompanied by Marshall and Nye, two clergymen of great authority.

Of all these, the man, in whom the greatest confidence was reposed, was young Vane, who, in eloquence, capacity, and address, as well as in art and dissimulation, was inferior to no one, even during that age, so celebrated for active talents. By his advice was formed at Edinburgh that solemn league and covenant; which annulled all the former protestations and vows, taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority.

By this covenant, the subscribers bound themselves to support the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to establish a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate

## 34 *The History of ENGLAND.*

to suppress popery and prelacy ; to maintain the privileges of the parliament and the liberties of the people ; to defend his majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom ; to discover and punish incendiaries and malignants ; to establish a firm peace and union to all posterity ; to assist each other with all their might, renounce neutrality, and resist temptation ; to repent of their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation.

This covenant was read in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, in presence of both houses, by whom it was subscribed ; and the commons ordered that it should be taken, next Sunday, by all persons who lived under their jurisdiction.

The Scots were influenced on this occasion, partly by the motives of interest, partly by the prejudices of religion. They began to apprehend, that should the king subdue the two houses, he would retract all the concessions which he had granted to the Scottish nation. They were animated with the hopes of introducing the presbyterian form of worship into England, and even extending it to the most distant regions, and  
some



some of them were tempted with the prospect of sharing the spoils of the royalists.

Moved by these considerations, and being farther encouraged with the sum of an hundred thousand pounds, which they received from the English parliament, they began to assemble their forces with great alacrity; and, about the end of the year, they were ready to enter England, under the command of their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men.

The king, foreseeing the impending danger, endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient; and he turned his eyes towards Ireland, in hopes, that that kingdom, from which his cause had already suffered so much predjudice, might, at last, contribute somewhat towards his aid and assistance.

The English parliament, though they undertook the suppression of the Irish rebellion, had as yet taken no effectual step towards the accomplishment of that project.

They had, indeed, entered into a contract with the Scots, who sent over to Ireland a good number of troops, that made a diversion from Dublin, and protected the British planters in the north. The English forces too in that kingdom, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, had worsted the

### 36 *The History of* ENGLAND.

the rebels in many encounters; and the earl of Ormond had obtained two signal victories over them.

Nevertheless, as the two houses neglected to supply them with provision, ammunition and recruits, they were, by this time, reduced to the greatest necessities. The justices, who were attached to the parliament, had been removed by the influence of Ormond, and their places filled with others who were better affected to his majesty; and this was the reason why their solicitations were so little regarded by the commons.

They transmitted to the two houses, a remonstrance from the army, representing their intolerable hardships, and craving permission to leave the kingdom, otherwise they should be obliged to employ those means with which nature had furnished them for their own preservation. The rebels too had sent repeated petitions to the king, intreating him to appoint commissioners to hear what they had to alledge in their own vindication.

Influenced by these concurring motives, he had impowered Ormond and the justices to conclude a truce for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and ordered the earl to bring over part of the army to England.

The

The king, that he might weaken the authority of the parliament, had issued a declaration, in which he represented all the tumults, by which himself and his partizans in both houses had been driven from London : and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and till its liberty was restored, had no right to exact obedience to any of its orders. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, of which, however, the king was extremely desirous, it became necessary to elude it by some kind of contrivance.

A letter was accordingly sent to the earl of Essex, and subscribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They there intreated him to use his endeavour for restoring peace to his country, and to promote that happy end with those by whom he was employed.

Essex, though much dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, though apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, though willing to agree to any reasonable accommodation ; yet was more anxious to discharge with fidelity the trust reposed in him. He replied, that as the paper sent him, was neither addressed to the two houses of parliament, nor acknow-

ledged the authority of that assembly, he could not, by any means, impart it to them. Like proposals were repeated by the king during the ensuing campaign, and still met with a like denial from Essex.

In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king sent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament convened at Westminster: but as he likewise mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament convened at Oxford, and expressed his desire that all the members of both houses might safely meet in a free and full assembly; the parliament, perceiving the conclusion which he meant to draw from this distinction, refused all treaty upon such terms. And the king, who despaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not forgo the pretensions, which he had assumed, nor acknowledge the two houses, more openly, for a parliament.

This winter died the celebrated Pym; a man as much esteemed by one party, as hated by the other. The parliament considered him as the victim to national liberty, who had impaired his constitution and shortened his life by his constant and unwearied application. The royalists believed him to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a  
mark

mark of the divine vengeance for his numerous crimes and treasons.

He had been so little careful to increase his private fortune in these civil wars, which he had a principal hand in raising, that the commons thought themselves obliged in gratitude, to discharge the debts which he had contracted. We now return to the military operations, which, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, were prosecuted with great vigour in several parts of the kingdom.

Lord Biron, at the head of the forces brought over from Ireland, had reduced the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Dedington-house. No place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood, was now possessed by the parliament, except Nantwich; and this town Biron invested in the depth of winter.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, informed of these proceedings, collected a body of four thousand men in Yorkshire, and being reinforced by Sir William Brereton, advanced against the royalists. The swelling of a rivulet by an excessive rain divided one part of the army from the other. That part opposed to Fairfax, being driven from their post, took shelter in the church of Acton, and were all made prisoners; the other fled with the utmost precipitation.

And thus was dispersed or rendered useless that body of forces which had been transported from Ireland; and the parliament recovered their former footing in the north-west counties of England.

The invasion of the Scots was productive of still more important consequences. The earl of Leven, after having in vain summoned the town of Newcastle, which was defended by a strong garrison, crossed the Tyne; and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who was encamped at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men.

That general would, in all probability, have endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy, had it not been for a great misfortune which had happened to his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was entirely defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire, with his victorious forces.

Apprehensive of being shut up between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven, joining his troops to those of lord Fairfax, they invested York, in which the army of the royalists had taken shelter. But as the Scottish and parliamentary forces were not sufficient to besiege in form so large



large a city, divided by a river, they contented themselves with forming a kind of blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies.

Meanwhile, the other parts of the kingdom were not free from the calamities of the war. Hopton, having collected an army of fourteen thousand men, attempted to penetrate into Suffex, Kent, and the southern association, where, he hoped, to meet with a very favourable reception. Waller attacked him at Cherington, and gave him such a severe check as obliged him to relinquish his enterprize.

In another quarter, the parliamentary forces having undertaken the siege of Newark, prince Rupert resolved to succour a place of so much importance, which alone preserved a free communication between the king's southern and northern conquests. With a small force, but that inspired by his undaunted courage, he broke through the lines of the enemy, relieved the town, and entirely dispersed that army of the parliament.

But though fortune had thus balanced her favours between the parties, the king found himself, on the whole, a considerable loser by this winter champaign; and he appre-

hended a still more unprosperous event from the ensuing summer.

The preparations of the parliament were more extensive, and in much greater forwardness than any which he could possibly make. In the eastern association, they assembled fourteen thousand men under the earl of Manchester, assisted by Cromwell. An army of ten thousand men under Essex; another of nearly the same number under Waller, was collected in the neighbourhood of London. The former was appointed to oppose the king: the latter was ordered to march into the west, where prince Maurice, with a small army which daily diminished, was wasting his time in vain before Lyme, an inconsiderable town on the sea-coast.

The king, with all his interest, could not assemble above ten thousand men at Oxford; nor had he any other means of maintaining these troops than by the dangerous and unpopular expedient of free quarters.

Mean while, the earl of Manchester, having reduced Lincoln, had joined his forces to those of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now invested on all sides, by their combined armies. That town, though bravely defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was reduced to the utmost extremity;  
and

and the parliamentary generals, after suffering great losses and hardships, fondly imagined that all their labours would at last be rewarded with that important conquest,

In the midst of these expectations, they were alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert, who, having assembled a strong body of troops in Lancashire and Cheshire, and being reinforced by Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, advanced to the relief of York with an army of twenty thousand men.

The Scottish and parliamentary generals immediately raised the siege, and drawing up their troops on Marston-moor, resolved to prevent the junction of the royalists: but prince Rupert approached the town by another side, and keeping the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle.

The marquis endeavoured to convince him, that having so happily accomplished his purpose, he ought to rest satisfied with the advantage, and leave the enemy, now weakened by their losses, and disheartened by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual jealousies, which prevailed among them.

The prince, whose bold and enterprising spirit was not sufficiently restrained by prudence,

dence, nor softened by complaisance, al-  
 ledging a positive order from the king,  
 without deigning to acquaint Newcastle,  
 who, by his great merit and services, was  
 entitled to better treatment, immediately  
 gave orders for an engagement, and drew  
 out the whole army to Marston-moor.

This battle was obstinately fought be-  
 tween the most numerous armies, which  
 were engaged during the whole course of  
 these wars; and for a long time the victory  
 seemed to remain in suspense.

Rupert, who headed the right wing of  
 the royalists, was encountered by Cromwell,  
 who commanded the choice troops of the  
 parliament, enured to danger under that  
 undaunted leader, actuated by zeal, and  
 regulated by the most severe discipline.  
 After a sharp conflict, the cavalry of the  
 royalists began to yeild; and the infantry,  
 placed behind them, were likewise routed,  
 and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment  
 alone, determined to conquer or to die, still  
 maintained their ground, and covered by  
 their dead bodies, the same ground, on  
 which they were originally posted.

In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax,  
 and colonel Lambert, with some troops,  
 broke through the royalists; and fired by  
 the eagerness of pursuit, soon reached their  
 victorious

victorious friends, engaged also in pursuit of the enemy. But after that storm was over-blown; Lucas, who conducted the royalists in this wing, rallying a-fresh his broken forces, made a desperate assault on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into confusion, drove them back upon their own infantry, and totally routed that wing of the enemy.

When ready to seize on their canon and baggage, he observed Cromwell, who was now returned from the pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were confounded at this unexpected incident; and plainly saw, that they must again renew the combat for that victory, which each of them imagined they had already gained.

The front of the battle was now perfectly inverted; and each army stood on the spot, which, at the beginning of the day, had been occupied by the enemy. This second action was more bloody and obstinate than the first: but after the most heroic feats performed by both parties, the parliamentary forces obtained a complete victory. The prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army entirely discomfited.

This event gave a terrible blow to the King's affairs; but was attended with consequences still more fatal. The royal cause

was

46 *The History of ENGLAND.*

was totally deprived of the interest and assistance of the marquis of Newcastle. When prince Rupert, contrary to the advice of that nobleman, resolved on the battle, and issued all orders without acquainting him with his intentions ; he took the field, but merely, he said, as a volunteer ; and, except by his personal courage, which was signally displayed, he had no share in the action.

Incensed at the haughty and imperious behaviour of the prince, who had treated him with so much indignity and contempt ; provoked to see all his successful labours thus rendered abortive by one act of youthful temerity ; he resolved no longer to adhere to a cause, to the ruin of which both friends and enemies seemed to conspire. Next morning, he sent word to the prince, that he proposed immediately to quit the kingdom ; and, without delay, he took shipping at Scarborough, and repaired to the Continent, where he remained till the Restoration.

Prince Rupert, confounded at his late overthrow, abandoned York, and retired with the remains of his army into Lancashire.

Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to deliver up that city ; and he marched out  
his



his troops with all the honours of war. Lord Fairfax, entering the place, supplied it with a strong garrison, and detached a thousand horse into Lancashire, to reinforce the parliamentary army in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert : the Scottish army retired northwards, in order to meet the earl of Calender, who was coming to join them with ten thousand additional forces ; and to besiege the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm : the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, who had a capital share in gaining this great victory, and who was wounded in the action, repaired to the Eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

During these transactions in the north, the king's affairs in the south were managed with greater ability, and attended with greater success. Ruthven, a Scotchman, lately promoted to the earldom of Brentford, acted under the king as general.

The armies of Essex and Waller being, by this time, completed, the two generals were ordered to advance with their combined forces towards Oxford ; and if the king took refuge in that city, to invest it, and, by one enterprize, to finish the war. The king, leaving a sufficient garrison in Oxford, passed unnoticed between the two armies,

mies, which had reduced Abingdon, and inclosed him on both sides.

He directed his march towards Worcester; and Waller was enjoined by Essex to follow him and observe his motions, while he himself repaired to the west, in order to oppose prince Maurice. Waller had advanced within two miles of the royal camp, and was only parted from it by the Severn, when he heard that the king was arrived at Beudly, and pointed his course towards Shrewsbury.

In order to prevent him, Waller presently decamped, and hastened by quick marches to that city; when the king suddenly returning to Oxford, and reinforcing his army from that garrison, now in his turn advanced in quest of Waller. The two armies approached each other at Cropredy bridge; and were only divided by the Charwell.

Next day the king dislodged and proceeded towards Daventry. Waller ordered a large detachment to cross the bridge, and attack the rear of the royalists. They were repulsed, routed, and chased to a considerable distance. Stunned and discouraged by this blow, his troops began to desert in great numbers; and the king thought he might safely

safely leave them, and march westward against Essex.

That general, having compelled prince Maurice to abandon the siege of Lyme, and having reduced Weymouth and Taunton, proceeded still in his conquests, without meeting with any interruption. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, apprized the parliament of his danger, and begged they would send an army to attack the king in his rear. General Middleton was dispatched with a good body of troops for that purpose; but arrived too late to do any effectual service.

Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, destitute of forage and provision, and despairing of all hopes of relief, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed him on one side; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, got on board a boat, and fled to Plymouth: Balfour with his cavalry escaped the king's guards in a thick mist, and arrived safely at the garrisons of his own party.

The infantry under Skippon were forced to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition; and being led to the parliamentary quarters, were set at liberty. By

this advantage, which was highly extolled, the king, besides the honour of the enterprise, procured what he most wanted: the parliament, having preserved the men, lost nothing but what they could easily repair.

The news of this event were no sooner brought to London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage, and good behaviour; and this conduct, no less prudent than generous, the parliament observed during the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and implacable to their enemies, they successfully employed the two powerful engines of reward and punishment in support of their authority.

That the king might have less cause to boast of the advantages, which he had gained in the west, the parliament resolved to oppose him with more numerous forces. Having armed afresh Essex's subdued, but not dispirited, troops they commanded Manchester and Cromwell to bring their new levies from the eastern association; and joining their forces to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex, attack the king with their combined armies.

At Newbury, where Charles was encamped, they fell upon him with great impetuosity; and that town was once more  
the

the scene of the bloody and destructive rage of the English. Essex's soldiers, encouraging each other to retrieve their lost honour, and wipe of the disgrace of Lestithiel, assaulted the royalists with irresistible fury; and having retaken some of the cannon which they had left in Cornwall, could not help embracing them with tears of joy. The king's troops, though they made a most brave and obstinate resistance, were at last over-powered with numbers; nor could any thing have saved them from a total defeat but the approach of night, which now put an end to the combat.

Charles, securing his baggage and cannon in Dennington-castle near Newbury, withdrew to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. There he was joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of horse. Thus reinforced, he ventured to march against the enemy, now engaged in the siege of Dennington-castle.

Essex, being seized with a severe illness, had not yet joined the army, since his late misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who acted as general, though his forces were much more numerous than those of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected the advice of Cromwell, who earnestly

importuned him to embrace so favourable an opportunity of finishing the war at one blow. The king brought off his cannon from Dennington-castle, without any interruption from the enemy; and having the satisfaction to see the same jealousies, which had formerly prevailed between Essex and Waller, now excited between Manchester and Cromwell, he distributed his army into winter-quarters.

Those contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were revived in London during the winter; and each being abetted by his own adherents, the whole city and parliament were thrown into the most violent convulsions.

There had long subsisted in that party, a secret distinction, which, though hitherto suppressed by the common sense of danger, yet in proportion as that restraint was removed, began to show it itself, with the utmost violence and animosity. The Independents who had, at first, been confounded in the general mass of the Presbyterians, now plainly appeared to be a distinct party, and to entertain very different views and sentiments.

The Presbyterians rejected the liturgy: the Independents renounced all church courts,



courts, all government among pastors, all interposition of the civil power in religious matters, all fixed encouragement to spiritual pastors. According to their principles, every congregation, united voluntarily and by common consent, formed, within itself, a distinct church, and possessed a jurisdiction, but one deprived of temporal sanctions, over its own members.

The election of the congregation was alone sufficient to confer the sacerdotal character, and as all essential difference was abolished between the laity and clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no ordination, was supposed, as in all other churches, to be necessary to bestow a right to the holy order.

The sentiments of these two sects were no less different in political matters. The Presbyterians meant only to limit and circumscribe the royal prerogative: the Independents aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy and even of the aristocracy; and proposed to establish an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic pure and unmixed. In pursuance of this plan, they strenuously opposed all overtures of peace, except on such conditions as, they knew, it was impossible to procure; and they adhered to the machiavelian maxim, that

54 *The History of ENGLAND.*

whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should sheath it only in his bosom.

By alarming others with the fear of punishment from the injured prince, they had induced many to declare against peace, who yet did not approve of their other principles with regard to government and religion; and the great advantages, which the parliament had already obtained, and the much greater which they soon expected, confirmed them still further in their resolution.

The Independents were chiefly directed by Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John the solicitor-general. The earl of Essex, displeased with a war, of which he began to perceive the fatal tendency, adhered to the Presbyterians, and zealously encouraged every reasonable scheme of accommodation.

The earl of Northumberland, proud of his rank and dignity, abhorred a scheme, which, if it succeeded, would reduce himself and his family to the same station with the meanest subject in the kingdom. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis Massiey, Whitelocke, Mainard, Glyn, had adopted the same sentiments.

A considerable majority in the parliament, and a much greater in the nation, adhered

hered to the Presbyterian party ; and it was only by secret fraud, at first, and afterwards by open violence, that the Independents were able to gain the ascendant.

The earl of Manchester, incensed at the violent impeachment, which the king had preferred against him, had long promoted the war with all his interest and authority ; but being a man of humane and generous principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total dissolution of government, began to abate his ardour, and disposed him to encourage peace on any safe or honourable conditions.

Influenced by these motives, it was even supposed, that he had not improved, to the utmost, the advantages, gained by the arms of the parliament ; and Cromwell, in the public debates, accused him of having neglected at Dennington castle a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists.

“ I showed him plainly,” said Cromwell, “ how this enterprize might be accomplished ; and only begged leave, with my own brigade of horse, to attack the king’s army in their retreat ; leaving it to the earl’s choice, either to assist me with the rest of the forces, or to remain an indifferent spectator of the  
“ action

“ action; but notwithstanding all my re-  
“ monstrances, he positively refused his  
“ consent, without assigning any other rea-  
“ son than that, if we met with a defeat,  
“ there would be an end to all our preten-  
“ sions: we should all be rebels and trai-  
“ tors, and be condemned and executed  
“ by the law accordingly.”

The earl, by way of retaliation, acquainted the parliament, that, at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme, which it seemed unlikely the parliament would approve, he insisted and said, “ my  
“ lord, if you will stick firm to honest men,  
“ you shall find yourself at the head of an  
“ army, which will give law both to king  
“ and parliament. I was the more alarm-  
“ ed,” said Manchester, “ at this dis-  
“ course, because I knew the lieutenant-  
“ general to be a man of very deep designs;  
“ and he has even ventured to tell me,  
“ that it never would be well with Eng-  
“ land, till I was Mr. Montague, and there  
“ was ne’er a lord or peer in the kingdom.”

It is not to be supposed, that, amidst these violent dissensions, affairs could long remain on their present footing. The Independents resolved, without delay, to proceed to the execution of their scheme. The present generals, they imagined, were more  
anxious

anxious to protract than to conclude the war; and being determined to maintain still some balance in the constitution, they were unwilling totally to annihilate the power of the king, or reduce him to a condition, where he should be entitled to ask no concessions.

A new model of the army could alone ensure to the parliament a complete victory; and the method taken to accomplish this project was extremely artful and politic, and such as strongly marks the character and genius of the age,

At the commencement of the war, each party had appointed a fast in order to implore the blessing of heaven on their respective arms; the king having chosen the second Friday, the parliament the last Wednesday of every month, for that purpose. It was now proposed and carried in parliament, by the Independents, that a new and more solemn fast should be held; when they should supplicate the divine assistance, for delivering them from those difficulties in which they were at present involved.

On that day, the preachers took care to expose the reigning divisions in parliament, and imputed them solely to the selfish and interested views of the members. These members, said they, are possessed of all the

the important posts in the army, all the lucrative offices in the government: and while the nation is loaded with intolerable taxes, and is every day falling into poverty; these men are continually increasing their private fortunes, and will, in a short time, be masters of all the wealth in the kingdom.

That such persons, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever adopt any feasible plan for bringing them to a conclusion, or terminating the war in a speedy and successful manner, cannot reasonably be expected. Slow expedients will alone be employed; and, languid operations in the field, concurring with feeble resolutions in the cabinet, civil commotions will, for ever, be continued in the nation.

After enlarging on these disorders, the ministers addressed themselves to heaven, and besought the Almighty, that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the instruments whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to accomplish so excellent a purpose, that he would raise up others better qualified, who might perfect what was begun, and by securing the civil and religious liberties of the nation, put a speedy end to the public calamities.

The



The same topics were enforced in parliament by several of the Independents, particularly by Sir Henry Vane, and Oliver Cromwell.

The former said, that the preachers deserved the highest praise for the excellent admonitions which they had given in their sermons, and for having told them of their faults and errors, of which they were so unwilling to be instructed: that he therefore entreated his brethren, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to renounce all private views and relinquish every lucrative office; that the absence of so many members, engaged in different employments, had reduced the house to such an inconsiderable number, as greatly lessened the authority of their proceedings: and that, for his own part, he could not help accusing himself as one who possessed a profitable office, that of treasurer of the navy; and though he received it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament, yet was he willing to resign it, and to prefer, to his own interest and advantage, the happiness and welfare of his country.

Cromwell observed, that though the preachers had insisted on many things, which

60 *The History of ENGLAND.*

which he had never before considered; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but acknowledge, that, till there was a perfect reformation in these particulars, none of their undertakings could be attended with success.

The parliament, no doubt, subjoined he, had done wisely in the beginning of the war, to employ several of their members in the most hazardous parts of it, and, by that means, to convince the nation, that they meant to run all risks with the meanest of the people.

But the state of affairs is now altered. During the continuance of military operations, there have arisen in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are capable of filling much higher posts, than what they now enjoy: and though it becomes not men, embarked in such a cause, to put their trust in the arm of flesh, yet he could venture to affirm, that their troops contained as good generals, as were to be found in Christendom. The army, indeed, he was sorry to say, was extremely deficient in discipline; nor could they reasonably expect, till the present vices and disorders which prevail among the soldiers were reformed by a new model, that ever they should succeed in any of their undertakings.

This

This innovation, however, was warmly opposed by all the Presbyterians. White-  
locke, in particular, one of the ablest  
speakers of that party, observed, that, be-  
sides the ingratitude of dismissing, and that  
by fraud and chicanery, so many noble  
persons, who had hitherto behaved with  
such signal fidelity; it would be found ex-  
tremely difficult to supply their place with  
men of equal experience and abilities: that  
the rank alone, enjoyed by such as were  
members of either house, prevented envy,  
kept the army in subjection, and gave  
weight and authority to military orders:  
that greater trust might safely be reposed in  
men of family and fortune, than in mere  
adventurers, who would be apt to form dif-  
ferent views from what were entertained by  
those who employed them: that no maxim  
of government was more universally admit-  
ted, than that of maintaining an inseparable  
connection between the civil and military  
powers, and retaining the latter in strict  
subordination to the former: that the  
Greeks and Romans, the wisest nations that  
ever existed, had always bestowed, on their  
consuls and senators, the command of their  
armies, and had ever cherished the most un-  
conquerable aversion to all mercenary  
forces: and that those only, whose interest

## 62 *The History of ENGLAND.*

was intimately connected with that of the public, and enjoyed a vote in the civil deliberation, would sufficiently reverence the authority of parliament, and could never be tempted, by any consideration, to turn the sword against those, from whom they had received it.

Notwithstanding all these arguments, a committee was appointed to draw up what they called the self-denying ordinance, by which the members of either house were deprived of all employments, whether civil or military, except a few offices which were particularly mentioned.

This ordinance was productive of the most violent heats and animosities, as well in the city as the parliament: but, at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others, of false modesty; with a great many of the Republican and Independent principles; it passed the house of commons, and was carried up to the house of peers. The lords, though the scheme was, in part, directed against their order; though all of them, in secret, were highly displeased with it; were yet possessed of so little authority, that they durst not oppose the resolution of the commons; and they judged it most adviseable, by an unbounded compliance, to suspend, for a while, that fatal  
blow,

blow, which, they knew, they were unable finally to prevent.

The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others resigned their commissions, and were honoured with the thanks of parliament for their good services.

At the same time, Essex was indulged with an annual pension of ten thousand pounds. It was proposed to augment the army to twenty-two thousand men, and the chief command was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Cromwell, being a member of the lower house, should have been dismissed with the rest; but that measure would have totally defeated the projects of those, who had formed the self-denying ordinance. He was saved by a stratagem, and by that political cunning, in which he so much excelled.

At the time, when the other officers were discarded, care was taken, that he should be detached with a small body of horse, in order to succour Taunton, invested by the royalists. His absence being observed, orders were transmitted for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new

## 64 *The History of ENGLAND.*

general was desired to substitute some other officer in his place.

A chearful obedience was pretended ; and the very day was named on which, it was affirmed, he would take his seat in the house. But Fairfax, intending to review the army, sent a letter to the parliament, in which he begged leave to retain, for some days, lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he said, would be of great service, in supplying the place of those officers, who had been dismissed.

Soon after, he requested with much importunity, that they would permit Cromwell to serve during the present campaign : and thus the Independents, though inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the Presbyterians, and conferred the whole power of the sword, in appearance, upon Fairfax ; in reality, upon Cromwell.

Meanwhile a treaty for peace was begun and carried on, but with little or no hopes of success. Upon the king's return from Newbury to Oxford, the two houses required and procured a safe conduct for their deputies, with proposals of accommodation, which they had framed in the summer.

The king having perused them required ; in his turn, a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who



who should carry his answer to the two houses, but this favour he could not obtain, until he had addressed himself to the two houses of the English parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the Scottish commissioners.

On this occasion Charles employed an artifice, which his warmest advocates will find it difficult to justify or excuse. He entered a secret protest in the council-book, importing, that though he had called them the parliament he did not acknowledge them as such.

By his deputies he desired that commissioners should be named on each side, who should meet at a neutral place, and treat of a pacification. After some debate, they resolved that the conferences should be opened at Uxbridge, and continue twenty days; and that the propositions should be reduced to the three articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland.

The commissioners appointed by his majesty were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; and eleven commoners, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, now chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The two houses named twelve deputies, at the

head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh; and the chief of the Scottish commissioners were the earl of Loudon, chancellor of that kingdom, and the marquis of Argyle.

The terms, offered by the two houses, were as rigid and severe, as they possibly could have demanded, had they obtained a complete victory over the royalists, and reduced the king to a total subjection.

They required, that episcopacy should be abolished, and Presbyterianism established in both kingdoms: that the king should subscribe the covenant; abandon his best friends as traitors; resign the militia, and even his own children to the direction of the two houses, who now aspired to the whole sovereign authority.

Though no peace could be possibly concluded on such terms, the king's commissioners, in the course of the conferences, agreed, that an indulgence should be granted to tender consciences with regard to ceremonies; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination without the consent and advice of such Presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be rectified; that a hundred thousand pounds be levied  
from

from the estates of the bishops and the chapter lands, for the payment of the debts contracted by the parliament; that the militia should be entrusted to twenty commissioners, one half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houses; and that the commission should hold for three years.

These concessions were not judged satisfactory by the parliament. Nothing material was proposed with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and the twenty days being elapsed, the conference ended, without having produced any other effect, than to show the difficulty, if not impossibility, of concluding a peace on any reasonable terms.

About this time, archbishop Laud, who had remained in prison ever since his first commitment, was brought to his trial, and made such a vigorous defence, that the commons, apprehending he could not be convicted by common evidence, declared him guilty by bill of attainder, which passed the house of lords, though not without some opposition.

He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been sent him from Oxford; but as it was obtained before his condemnation and stood in bar to a judgment of the two houses, it was unanimously rejected. Being sentenced to  
the

68 *The History of ENGLAND.*

the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; an indulgence, which, with great difficulty, he obtained.

On the tenth day of January \* he was brought to the scaffold, where he addressed himself to the spectators in a long speech, which he was pleased to call a sermon. He alledged, among others things, that he was now condemned to this ignominious death for not having forsaken the temple of God, to follow the bleatings of Jeraboam's calves, alluding to the schism of the Presbyterians. He declared himself innocent of any design to subvert the laws of the land, or to introduce popery, the crimes of which he had been accused. He affirmed he had never been an enemy to parliaments, though he could not approve of some of their proceedings. He forgave his enemies; prayed that God would direct the parliament for the good of the nation; and laying his head on the block, it was severed from the body by one blow.

That Laud was guilty of high treason, or merited the fate to which he was condemned, can hardly be alledged upon any principles  
of

of law and equity. That he was a weak, wicked, and worthless minister, and that his immoderate attachment to superstitious ceremonies, and the extreme rigour with which he enforced their observance, was one of the principal causes of those troubles in which the nation was involved; must certainly be admitted by every candid and impartial judge. And considering the matter in this light, it had certainly been more just, and probably as prudent, in the parliament, to have contented themselves with subjecting him to perpetual imprisonment, where his great age and bodily infirmities must soon have put a period to his life in the common course of nature.

During these transactions in England, there happened in Scotland some events, which seemed to promise a more favourable turn to the royal cause.

Before the beginning of these civil commotions the earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of distinguished abilities, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made him a tender of his services; but by the arts and intrigues of the duke of Hamilton, who entirely engrossed the confidence of his sovereign, he had met with a very cold and indifferent reception.

Provoked

Provoked at this unworthy treatment, he had espoused the cause of the covenanters ; and, prompted by the natural fire and impetuosity of his temper, he had exerted himself, during the first insurrection, with great vigour as well as success, in levying and conducting their armies.

Being deputed by the tables to wait upon the king at Berwick, he was so captivated by the winning and insinuating behaviour of that monarch, that he thenceforth attached himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and engaged in a close correspondence with him.

In the second Scottish insurrection, he was invested by the covenanters with the command of a strong body of forces ; and he was the first who crossed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England.

He had the address, however, to send a letter to the king, apprizing him of their intended motions ; and, by the infidelity of some of that prince's attendants, a copy of this letter was transmitted to Leven the Scottish general. Being charged with treachery and a correspondence with the enemy, Montrose openly acknowledged the letter ; and asked the general, if he dared to call his sovereign an enemy : and by this bold  
and



and unexpected answer, he screened himself from an immediate prosecution.

As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer dissembled his sentiments; but endeavoured to engage all those, who were attached to the same cause, in a bond of association for his service. Though thrown into prison for this attempt, he found means to make his escape; and repaired to the king at Oxford, where he was received with many expressions of esteem and regard.

The covenanters were, at that time, possessed of the whole power of the kingdom; they were supported by numerous and well disciplined armies; and every place was secured by a vigilant and active administration: but notwithstanding all these circumstances, Montrose undertook to excite such commotions, as should oblige the Scots to recal the forces which they had sent into England, and which had so sensibly turned the balance in favour of the parliament.

Not disheartened by the defeat of Marston-moor, which made it impossible for him to derive any succour from England; he was satisfied to contract with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country; and he himself assuming various disguises, and  
passing

72 *The History of* ENGLAND.

passing through many dangers, at last reached the highlands of Scotland, where he lay concealed for some time, and prepared the mind of his adherents for those military enterprises, which he meant to attempt.

No sooner were the Irish landed, though hardly amounting to eleven hundred men, very ill accoutered, than Montrose came forth from his retreat, and immediately entered upon that scene of action, which has rendered his name so famous.

He was soon joined by eight hundred of the men of Athole. Five hundred men more, who had been enlisted by the covenanters, were induced to espouse the royal cause; and with this united force, he advanced against lord Elcho, who lay at Perth, with an army of six thousand men, collected upon the first news of the Irish invasion.

Montrose, inferior in number, totally destitute of horse, and ill provided with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on but that courage, which he himself, by his example and exhortation, should be able to infuse into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was returned chiefly by a volley of stones, he fell upon them with irresistible fury, broke their ranks at the first onset, improved his  
advan-

advantage with the utmost vigour, and at last obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters.

Being afterwards reinforced by the earl of Airly, he defeated five and twenty hundred covenanters, headed by the lord Burley, at Aberdeen. When closely pursued by the marquis of Argyle with a numerous army, and opposed in front by the earl of Lothian with the militia of the country; he found means to extricate himself from his present danger; and he saved his weak, but active troops, by the most surprising retreats, marches, and stratagems.

He kept the field in the middle of winter, when the ground was covered with snow, exposed to all the rigours of the season, and to all the hardships of famine and fatigue: he ravaged the country of Argyle with fire and sword: and he routed the troops of the marquis at Innerlochy, with great slaughter. A body of five thousand men, assembled by the earl of Seaforth, dispersed at the very terror of his name.

He took Dundee by storm, and gave it up to plunder; and retreated above sixty miles in the face of a superior enemy, commanded by colonel Urrey, who had by this time deserted the cause of the king, and espoused

74      *The History of* ENGLAND.

that of the parliament. He beat this general in a pitched battle near Inverness: Bailie, another officer of reputation, advancing against him with a fresh army, met with a like fate. Having thus obtained such a succession of victories, and spread the fame of his valour through the whole kingdom, he summoned together all his friends and adherents, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to crush the power of the covenanters, and to disperse the parliament, which had assembled at Perth, with great pomp and solemnity.

While the fire thus raged in the north of the island, it blazed out with no less violence in the south; and the parliamentary and royal armies, as soon as the season would suffer, prepared to take the field, in hopes of finishing their important quarrel by some decisive action. The self-denying ordinance had met with such a strong and vigorous opposition, that the spring was far advanced before it passed the two houses; and many were of opinion, that it would be extremely dangerous to introduce so great an alteration in the army, immediately before the opening of the campaign.

Had not the moderation of Essex, which was equal to his other virtues, induced him

to obey the parliament with the most implicit submission, this innovation had certainly been productive of some fatal accident ; since, notwithstanding the prompt resignation of his command, a mutiny was generally apprehended.

Fairfax, or rather, indeed, Cromwell under his name, established, at last, the new model in the army, and formed the whole troops in a different manner. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were composed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force delivered into the hands of those in whom the Independents could place an implicit confidence. Besides members of parliament, who were dismissed, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, resigned their commissions ; and unwarily promoted the scheme of putting the army entirely into the hands of that party.

The disposition of the forces, on both sides, was as follows. Part of the Scottish army was engaged in reducing Pomfret and other towns in Yorkshire : part of it invested Carlisle, bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had been long besieged by Sir William Brereton ; and was now almost on the point of surrendering. The king, re-

76 *The History of ENGLAND.*

inforced by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with an army of fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were stationed at Windsor, with the new modelled army of twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, sustained a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who headed an army of eight thousand men ; and though the defence had been very vigorous, the garrison was now destitute of almost every necessary. Goring, in the west, conducted an army of nearly the same number.

On opening the campaign, the king proposed to relieve Chester ; Fairfax, to succour Taunton. The king was first in motion. On his arrival at Draiton in Shropshire, he was met by Biron, who told him that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army was entirely withdrawn.

Fairfax, having advanced to Salisbury in his way westward, was enjoined by the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the conduct of the war, to return immediately and invest Oxford, now left naked by the king's absence. He complied with the order, after having detached colonel Weldon into the west, with a body of four thousand men.

On



On Weldon's appearance, Granville, who suspected that Fairfax was advancing with his whole army, abandoned the siege, and suffered this brave and resolute town, now half taken and half demolished, to receive succour ; but the royalists, being joined by Goring with three thousand horse, returned forthwith to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place.

The king, having accomplished his purpose with regard to Chester, directed his march into the southern counties ; and in his way laid siege to Leicester, a place possessed by the parliament. Having made a breach in the wall, he assaulted the town on all sides ; and, after a desperate attack, the soldiers rushed in sword in hand, and committed great cruelties upon the garrison and inhabitants. A rich booty was taken and divided among them ; and fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands.

Fairfax was no sooner informed of this event, than he instantly resolved to abandon Oxford, which he was beginning to approach ; and advance towards the king with a design of giving him battle. The king was hastening towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he imagined was now begun ; and both armies, before they were

aware, had approached within six miles of each other.

A council of war was summoned by the king, in order to consult about the measures which, in the present emergence, he ought to pursue. Most of his counsellors were of opinion, that it would be more prudent to avoid a battle; because Gerard, who lay in Wales with three thousand men, might soon be enabled to reach the army; and Goring, it was thought, would in a little time be master of Taunton, and having fully re-established the tranquillity of the west, would then join his forces to those of the king, and give him an indisputed superiority over the enemy.

But the headstrong and impetuous temper of prince Rupert, and the fiery and impatient humour of the young nobility and gentry, over-turned all these prudent councils: by their advice it was finally determined to attack Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced against him.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this great and important battle, between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was headed by the king; the right wing by prince Rupert; the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, assisted by Skippon, commanded the  
main

main body of the parliamentarians ; Cromwell conducted the right wing : Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the left.

The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, and his usual success. Notwithstanding the brave resistance of Ireton, who, even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still continued to fight with undaunted courage, until he was taken prisoner : that whole wing was totally broke, and chased to a considerable distance by Rupert : he was even so imprudent as to waste time in attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left behind with a strong guard of infantry.

Meanwhile the king, at the head of his main body, attacked Fairfax and Skippon ; and the fight was, for some time, maintained with equal bravery on both sides. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to quit the field ; but declared he would not retire so long as one man kept his ground. At last the infantry of the parliament was thrown into disorder, and hard pushed by the king ; till Fairfax, with great prudence, brought up the reserve, and restored the battle.

By this time Cromwell, with his right wing, having fallen upon Langdale, had repulsed the royalists, and by his conduct improved

improved that advantage, which he had obtained by his valour. Having chaced the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to continue the pursuit; he turned back upon the king's infantry; and, at the first onset, threw them into the utmost confusion.

One regiment alone, though twice assaulted by Fairfax, still maintained its ranks unbroken; and that general, provoked at so stubborn a resistance, commanded Doyley, the captain of his life-guards, to assail them once more in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. By these united efforts the regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands slew an ensign, and having taken the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards pretending that he had gained the spoil himself, was reprimanded by Doyley, who had seen the action: "let him retain that honour," said Fairfax; "I have to-day acquired enough beside."

Prince Rupert, convinced too late of his error, abandoned the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and returned to the king, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles endeavoured to animate this body of cavalry to a fresh attack and cried aloud to them, "one charge more,  
" and,

“and we recover the day,” But the danger of such an attempt was too great and apparent; and they could by no means be persuaded to renew the battle.

At the same time, the Scottish earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying “will you go upon your death in an instant.” The troops seeing this motion, wheeled off to the right, and immediately fled with the utmost precipitation. Charles, finding it impossible to make any farther resistance, was obliged to quit the field, and abandon the victory to his enemies.

The number of killed on the side of the parliament was greater than on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax took five hundred officers and four thousand private men prisoners; seized all the king's artillery and baggage, and totally dispersed his infantry: so that no victory could be well more complete, than that which was now obtained by the parliament.

Among the other spoils, was taken the king's cabinet, with copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterwards published by order of the commons.

These

82 *The History of* ENGLAND.

These letters, it must be owned, breathe the true spirit of tenderness and conjugal affection: but, at the same time, they discover the king's insincerity in the treaty of Uxbridge, and his inclination, in compliance with the desire of his consort, to grant greater indulgences to the Catholics, than were either consistent with the laws of the land or the humour of the nation.

No person, that is not an utter stranger to the finer feelings of humanity, but must highly applaud the king for his devoted attachment to his spouse, who, indeed, seems to have been worthy of all his love and affection: but he must surely be a man of uncommon complaisance, (and yet, to judge by their writings, such men have existed) who, because, the king was justly fond of his consort, would, on that account, be willing to sacrifice the liberties, civil and religious, of his country.

After the defeat of Naseby, the king retreated with that body of horse, which still remained entire, first to Hereford, than to Abergavenny; and continued some time in Wales, vainly imagining he should be able to collect a body of infantry in those harrassed and exhausted counties.

Fairfax, having reduced Leicester, which submitted upon terms, began to concert the plan.



plan of his future operations. He received a letter which had been sent by Goring to the king, and which, by some mistake, had been committed to a spy of Fairfax.

Goring acquainted the king, that, in less than three weeks, he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would reinforce his majesty with all the troops of the west; and besought him, in the mean time, to use every possible precaution, in order to avoid an engagement with the enemy.

This letter, which had it safely arrived, would probably have prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to regulate the conduct of Fairfax. After detaching Pointz and Rositer with a body of three thousand men, in order to attend the king's motions, he himself repaired into the west, with a view of relieving Taunton, and subduing the only considerable force of which the royalists were now possessed.

He no sooner began to approach the town, than the enemy abandoned the siege; and withdrew to Lamport, an open town in the country of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, drove them from it, slew about three hundred men, and took fourteen hundred prisoners.

After this success, he invested Bridgewater, a town of some strength, and of  
great

## 84 *The History of* ENGLAND.

great importance in that quarter. Having forced his way into the outer town, Windham, the govenour, who had retired into the inner, immediately yeilded, and surrendered the place to Fairfax. The garrison, amounting to two thousand six hundred men, were made prisoners of war.

Fairfax, having made himself master of Bath and Sherborne, determined to lay siege to Bristol; and made great preparations for the reduction of a town, which, from the number of the garrison, and the valour of prince Rupert, the governor, was considered as almost impregnable

But here the expectations of men were greatly disappointed: a more weak defence was not made by any town during the whole course of the war. The parliamentary army had no sooner forced the lines, than the prince offered to surrender, and immediately delivered up the city to Fairfax. A few days before he had acquainted the king by a letter, that he should be able to hold out for four months, if no mutiny compelled him to submit.

Charles, who was laying schemes, and raising forces, for the relief of Bristol, was confounded at an event, which he had so little reason to expect, and which was almost as fatal to his party as the defeat of Naseby.

Naseby. Fired with indignation at the pusillanimous conduct of his nephew, he instantly revoked all his commissions, and sent him an order to quit the kingdom.

The arms of the parliament now prevailed in all quarters. The Scots, having reduced Carlisle, though with some difficulty, proceeded southwards, and invested Hertford; but were obliged to retire on the approach of the king; and this was the last glimpse of good fortune, which he enjoyed.

Advancing to the relief of Chester, which was now blockaded by the parliamentary forces under colonel Jones; Pointz fell upon his rear, and forced him to come to an engagement. While the fight was maintained with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists; Jones attacked them on the other side and put them to flight with the loss of six hundred slain and a thousand prisoners. The king, with the shattered remains of his army, escaped to Newark, and from thence to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter.

The parliamentary armies were no less successful in other parts of the kingdom. Fairfax and Cromwell, after the reduction of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westward, in order to finish

## 86 *The History of* ENGLAND.

the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall : the latter attacked the king's garrisons, which were situated to the east of Bristol.

The Devizes submitted at the first summons ; Berkley-castle was taken by assault ; Winchester surrendered upon terms ; Basing-house was entered sword in hand ; and thus all these middle counties of England were, in a short time, subjected to the authority of the parliament.

Fairfax proceeded in his conquests with the same rapid and uninterrupted success.\* After dissipating a body of royalists at Bovey-Tracey, he laid siege to Dartmouth, and in a few days took it by assault.

Poudram-castle being reduced by him, and Exeter invested on all sides ; Hopton, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town with an army of eight thousand men, encountered the parliamentary forces at Torrington ; where he was entirely routed, all his foot dispersed, and he himself, with his horse, obliged to fly into Cornwall.

Fairfax pursued him in his retreat, and improved the advantage, which he had gained. Having cooped up the royalists at Truro, he compelled the whole army,  
amount-

\* A. D. 1646.

amounting to five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms.

The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were suffered to disperse, and were gratified with twenty shillings apiece, to carry them to their several habitations. Such of the officers, as desired it, were suffered to quit the kingdom: the others, having engaged never more to carry arms, paid compositions to the parliament, and were indulged with a pardon. And thus Fairfax, after reducing Exeter, which finished the conquest of the west, returned, with his victorious army, to the center of the kingdom, and pitched his camp at Newbury.

The king, seeing his affairs irretrievably ruined, ordered the prince of Wales to consult his own safety by flying the kingdom; and accordingly the young prince withdrew to Scilly, then to Jersey; from whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had escaped there from Exeter at the time the earl of Essex led the parliamentary army into the west.

In other parts of England, Hertford was taken by surprize; Chester submitted upon terms: lord Digby, who had endeavoured to penetrate into Scotland and join Montrose, was routed at Sherburn in Yorkshire, by colonel Copley; his whole force dissipated; and he himself obliged to fly, first to the

## 88 *The History of* ENGLAND.

isle of Man, and thence into Ireland. News too was brought, that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last defeated; and this only remaining support of the royal cause entirely destroyed.

When Montrose penetrated into the southern counties, the covenanters, collecting their whole force, opposed him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success, at Kilsyth. This was the most important victory, which Montrose ever gained. The royalists killed above six thousand of their enemies, and left them no appearance of an army in Scotland.

The whole kingdom was rent with these repeated convulsions; and many noblemen, who were secretly attached to the royal cause, now espoused it openly, when they saw a force able to support them. The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, immediately joined the royal army. Edinburgh opened its gates to them, and released all the prisoners, whom the covenanters had confined in that city. Among the rest was the lord Ogilvy, son to Airly, whose family had a principal share in the victory gained at Kilsyth.

The



The covenanters, alarmed at the rapid progress of Montrose, recalled David Lesley from the army in England; and this able general immediately repaired to the relief of his distressed friends in Scotland. Montrose continued to penetrate still farther into the southern provinces, encouraged by the vain hopes, both of exciting to arms the earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had engaged to assist him; and of procuring from England some supply of cavalry, which he much wanted.

But Lesley, at Philip-haugh in the forrest, came suddenly upon him, and obliged him to give battle. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose performed the most heroic acts of valour, his troops were entirely defeated by Lesley's cavalry: and he himself forced to fly with the shattered remains of his army into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for attempting some new enterprize.

After all these repeated calamities, which, every where, beset the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her cruelty.

Lord Astley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, advancing to Oxford, in order to reinforce the king, was encountered at Stow by colonel Morgan,

and entirely routed; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves."

The king, during the whole course of this winter, was in the most wretched and deplorable situation. All the attempts which he made, towards a peaceful and reasonable accomodation with the parliament, answered no other purpose, than to show him, that the victory was entirely in their hands.

They would not even condescend to take notice of several of his messages, in which he demanded a passport for commissioners. At last, after upbraiding him with the blood shed during the war, they told him, that they were framing some bills for him, and that his giving his assent to these, would be the best proof of his pacific intentions.

He requested a personal treaty, and proposed to come to London, upon receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants: they flatly denied him all access, and issued orders for guarding, that is, arresting his person, should he attempt to approach the city.

A new incident, which happened in Ireland, contributed still farther to enrage the parlia-

parliament, and to render the king more odious and obnoxious to his subjects.

After the truce with the Irish rebels, the king was desirous of making a final peace with them, and procuring their assistance in England: and he impowered the earl of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws, enacted against Catholics; together with the suspension of Poining's statute, with regard to some particular bills, which should be concerted.

Lord Herbert, lately advanced to the earldom of Glamorgan, being obliged to go to Ireland about his private affairs, the king imagined, that as this nobleman was a Catholic, and nearly related to the best Irish families, he might be of some service to his cause.

He also considered, that farther concessions in point of religion might probably be required by the bigoted Catholics, and that as these concessions would be extremely disagreeable to his Protestant subjects in the two kingdoms, it would be prudent both to conceal them for some time, and to save the reputation of Ormond, by secretly empowering Glamorgan to settle and subscribe these articles.

But

But as he knew Glamorgan to be a weak man, and little capable of conducting an affair of such a nice and delicate nature, he strictly commanded him to impart all his measures to Ormond; and though the treaty must be finally concluded only in Glamorgan's own name, he was ordered to be guided in the steps towards it, by the advice of the lord-lieutenant.

Glamorgan, equally desirous of promoting the interest of the king and that of the Catholic religion, but directed, in these views, by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without the knowledge or consent of Ormond, agreed to a peace with the council of Kelkenny, and engaged, in the king's name, that the Irish should possess all the churches, which they had ever held since the beginning of their insurrection; on condition, that they should send into England a body of ten thousand men to the assistance of his majesty.

The discovery of this affair was owing to the following accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam, being slain in a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found in his pocket, and were immediately published in all parts of the kingdom, and copies of them transmitted to the English parliament.

The

The lord lieutenant and lord Digby, apprehensive of the consequences, arrested Glamorgan, confined him to close custody, accused him of high-treason for his presumption, and asserted that he had no authority from his majesty for the steps he had taken.

The English parliament did not fail to improve this incident to their own advantage : they revived the old clamour against the king with regard to his propension towards popery, and accused him of committing, as it were, the whole kingdom of Ireland to the dominion of that cruel and blood-thirsty sect.

The king endeavoured to exculpate himself, by explaining the whole progress of this transaction ; but he was never able to convince the nation of the sincerity of his intentions ; and the breach between him and the parliament became every day wider and more irreparable.

Deprived of all hopes of obtaining an equal and peaceful accommodation, the only resource which remained to the king, consisted in the violent animosities which inflamed the different parties in parliament.

The Presbyterians and Independents, even before the conclusion of the war, began to engage in the most furious contests about  
the

the propriety of their future measures, and the best regulation as well of the civil as of the ecclesiastical government.

Though the parliament had long since abolished episcopal authority, they had not, as yet, established any other in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto exercised the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But they now introduced, by a law, the Presbyterian government, in all its forms of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies.

All the inhabitants of each parish were enjoined to meet and elect elders, on whom, together with the ministers, was conferred the sole direction of concerns with the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which superintended this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with too, three, or four elders chosen from each parish.

The provincial assembly possessed an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and consisted entirely of clergymen: the national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and enjoyed an authority over the whole kingdom.

But



But though the Presbyterians had succeeded thus far, they were not able to prevail in other points, about which, however, they were no less anxious.

The assembly of divines, had declared Presbytery to be of divine origin: the parliament refused their assent to that decision: they even ascertained, by an ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be inflicted: they admitted of appeals to parliament from all ecclesiastical courts: named commissioners in each province to determine such cases as fell not within their jurisdiction: they resolved to grant an entire toleration to all Protestant dissenters: they allowed the assembly of divines no other liberty than that of offering advice; nor would they even permit them to choose their own chairman or his substitute, or to supply the vacancies of their own members.

All these steps were extremely disagreeable to the Presbyterians, who exerted their utmost endeavours in order to prevent them; but the Independents, assisted by Selden, Whitlocke, and all the political reasoners, who were resolved to keep the ecclesiastic in strict subjection to the civil power, were able to turn the balance to the other side, and to disappoint the views of the opposite party.

But

But whatever advantage Charles might hope to derive from the divisions which prevailed in parliament, he was sensible, that it would come too late, to preserve him from the ruin with which he was instantly threatened.

Fairfax was advancing with a numerous army, and was making preparations for the siege of Oxford, which must, of necessity, fall into his hands. To be taken prisoner and led in triumph by his own subjects, was an indignity which Charles could not bear; and every insult, if not outrage, was to be apprehended from those soldiers, who hated his person, and contemned his authority.

In this wretched and deplorable condition, no wonder that he embraced a measure, which, in any others case, he would have carefully avoided, and which must otherwise have subjected him to the imputation of folly and imprudence.

Montreville, the French ambassador, prompted rather by the feelings of his own heart, than by any orders or instructions from his court, had warmly espoused the king's interest, and had always endeavoured to promote it to the utmost of his power. With this view, he had earnestly importuned the Scottish generals and commissioners, to afford protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general promises and professions, he had always reported  
these

these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the king.

By his advice, Charles was induced to adopt the resolution of quitting Oxford, and repairing to the Scottish army, which, at that time, lay before Newark.

The better to conceal his design, orders were given at every gate in the city, to suffer three persons to pass unmolested; and in the night, the king, attended only by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London.

He was mounted on horseback, with a portmanteau behind him, and said he was servant to Mr. Ashburnham. Directing his course southwards, he passed through St. Albans, Henley, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill.

He had once some thoughts of venturing into that city, and submitting himself to the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing through many bye-ways, he reached the Scottish camp before Newark. The parliament was no sooner informed of his leaving Oxford, than they issued orders for seizing his person, and threatened the most severe punishments to any one, who should harbour or conceal him.

The Scottish generals and commissioners were confounded at the sudden appearance

98 *The History of ENGLAND.*

of his majesty; and though they treated him with great ceremony and respect, they instantly assigned him a guard, under colour of protection, but in reality to prevent his escape.

They acquainted the English parliament with this unexpected incident, declaring, at the same time, that they had not engaged in any private treaty with the king. They desired him to order Bellasis, governour of Newark, to deliver up that town, now reduced to the last extremity; and the king complying with their request, the place was immediately surrendered.

The Scots, understanding that the English parliament pretended to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the army was advancing towards them, thought it most adviseable to retire northwards, and, in a few days, they fixed their camp at Newcastle. This measure was very acceptable to the king; and he began to flatter himself with the agreeable prospect of receiving protection from the Scots.

In this hope he was the more encouraged, when he heard the text chosen by the first minister that preached before him. The words were, " And behold all the men of  
" Israel came to the king, and said unto  
" him, why have our brethren, the men of  
" Judah,

“ Judah, stolen thee away, and have brought  
 “ the king, and his household, and all  
 “ David’s men with him, over Jordan?  
 “ And all the men of Judah answered the  
 “ men of Israel, because the king is near of  
 “ kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry  
 “ for this matter? have we eaten at all of  
 “ the king’s cost? or hath he given us any  
 “ gift? and the men of Israel answered the  
 “ men of Judah, and said, we have ten  
 “ parts in the king, and we have also more  
 “ right in David than you: why then did  
 “ ye despise us, that our advice should  
 “ not be first had in bringing back our  
 “ king? and the words of the men of  
 “ Judah were fiercer than the words  
 “ of the men of Israel.”\* But the dis-  
 course was no sooner begun, than the king  
 found, that the preacher had been chiefly  
 tempted by the happiness of the allusion to  
 employ this text, and that he had no  
 greater lenity to expect from the Scots than  
 the English.

Another preacher, after upbraiding him  
 with his arbitrary and despotic conduct,  
 ordered this psalm to be sung;

Why do’st thou tyrant boast thyself  
 Thy wicked deeds to praise?

I 2

The

\* II Sam. chap. xix. vers. 41, 42, 43.

100 *The History of* ENGLAND.

The king, affected at this insolence, rose from his seat, and called for the psalm which begins thus,

Have mercy, lord, on me, I pray ;

For men would me devour :

The good natured audience, touched with compassion for his majesty, showed, for once, greater respect to the king, than to the minister, and sung the psalm which the former had desired.

Charles had little reason to be satisfied with his condition. Not only was he a prisoner, very narrowly watched : he was entirely secluded from all intercourse with his friends, and no communication, either by letters or discourse, was indulged him with any one, in whom he could confide, or who were suspected of any attachment to his cause.

The Scottish generals would engage in no conference with him ; but still behaved to him with distant ceremony and studied respect : and every proposal which they made him, tended to plunge him still deeper in an abyss of misery and ruin.

They desired him to send orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding them to submit to the parliament ; and the king, conscious that it was in vain to  
make



make any farther resistance, readily complied with their request.

The terms, granted to most of them were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very punctual in performing them. Far from permitting any violence; he would not even suffer insults or indignities to be offered to the unhappy royalists; but dismissed them, in peace and quietness, to their several habitations.

Ormond, having received like injunctions, surrendered Dublin and the other forts in Ireland, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montrose also, after a variety of other attempts, in which he sometimes failed, and sometimes succeeded, threw down his arms, and abandoned the kingdom.

The marquis of Worcester, now in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was the last man in England who yielded to the authority of the parliament. He was governor of Raglan-castle, which he had hitherto defended with invincible obstinacy; nor did he surrender the place till the middle of August. And thus was concluded a most cruel war, which had now continued almost four years; during which the British nations had been engaged, by their civil and religious quarrels, in shedding the blood of their friends and relations, and in wasting and destroying their native country.

The parliament and the Scottish commissioners now laid their proposals before his majesty. They were such, as, considering his own wretched condition, the superiority of his enemies, and the many causes of jealousy and distrust which prevailed between the opposite parties, he had all the reason in the world to expect: nor indeed were they much worse than what had been demanded before the battle of Naseby.

The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the king now offered, was required for twenty years, together with a right of raising whatever sums the parliament should think proper for the maintenance of their armies. The other articles were nearly the same with those which were formerly demanded of the king.

Charles said, that it was impossible to give an immediate answer to proposals, which tended so much to alter the constitution: the commissioners replied, that he must come to a determination in ten days.

He begged he might be allowed to reason about the meaning and import of the terms: they told him, that they had no power to debate; and peremptorily insisted on his consent or refusal. He desired a personal treaty with the parliament: they assured him, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, proceed to the settlement of the nation.

The

The affair which chiefly engaged the attention of the parliament, was not the treaty of the king ; but that with the Scottish nation. Two important points remained to be settled with that people : their delivery of the king's person ; and the estimation and payment of their arrears.

The Scots alledged, that, as Charles was king of Scotland, as well as of England, they had a right to an equal vote in the disposal of the king's person ; and that, in a case, where the rights were equal, the preference was due to the present possessor.

The English affirmed, that the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A question, sure, of a very nice and delicate nature, and which could not be determined by custom or precedent ; since such a situation is not to be found in the history of any other nation.

As the Scots agreed with the parliament, in demanding such severe conditions of the king, it is not probable that they ever intended to set him at real liberty ; nor, indeed, had they been so inclined, could they well have carried their scheme into execution. They, therefore, resolved to deliver him up to his English subjects ; but not, however, until they had obtained those arrears, to which they laid claim, and which they were

104 *The History of* ENGLAND.

were not likely, in the present situation of affairs, to procure by any other expedient.

The sum, according to their computation, amounted to two millions: for little or no regular pay had been given them since their first entry into England: and though the contributions which they had received from the counties, as well as the price of their living on free quarters, must be subtracted; yet still the sum, which they demanded, was very considerable.

After much debate and controversy, it was at last determined, that, in full satisfaction of all claims, they should accept of four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid immediately, the other within a twelve-month.

Some writers, partial to the royal cause, or, perhaps, influenced by other prejudices, have been at great pains to represent this transaction as highly injurious to the national character of the Scots, as if they had sold their king to his inveterate enemies, and bargained their prince for money: but after examining the matter with that candour and impartiality, which becomes an historian, we find it extremely difficult, or rather indeed absolutely impossible, to make good this heavy and grievous charge.

In

In the present circumstances, it may be asked, what other measure could the Scots have embraced than that which they actually adopted ? They might have carried the king into Scotland, and there secured him from the violence of his enemies, until he could be restored to his throne by a just and equitable treaty ! But they themselves were as great enemies to the king as were his English subjects, and were even as earnest in pressing him to accept of the terms now offered.

Besides, had they been ever so willing to pursue this course, could they, in reality, have defended their sovereign against the whole power of England, possessed, as she was, at that time, of numerous and victorious armies, and determined to settle her constitution on a fixed and immovable basis, which could not, by any means, have been done, while the king was at open variance, and even in a state of actual war, with his parliament ? This is a supposition, which, even those, who have the highest opinion of the valour and bravery of the Scots, will hardly venture to advance.

They might, it will be said, have joined the royalists in both kingdoms, and by their combined forces, have compelled the parliament to agree to more just and reasonable conditions ! But, the Scots thought the conditions,

ditions, now proposed, as reasonable as the English parliament: and had they actually joined the royalists, and assisted the king in subduing the parliament; could they have been certain that he would faithfully adhere to those terms which he now offered; or rather, had they not good reason to suspect, that far from observing such moderate maxims, he would not only have revoked all the concessions, which, from the commencement of his reign, he had with so much reluctance granted to his subjects in both kingdoms, but even advance many new pretensions, to which he had formerly never laid claim; and would think himself justified in depriving the people of those liberties, which, in his opinion, they had so much abused; and which had been the source of such fatal contentions, and exposed his crown to such imminent danger?

In any event, how could the Scots, with any propriety, be said to sell their king to the English, whose right to dispose of his person was as much better than that of the Scots, as England was a more extensive and more populous kingdom than Scotland, was the place of his majesty's usual residence, and of his present abode, and afforded the chief, if not the only sources of his public revenue and income?

But



But they might, if they thought proper, have delivered the king's person ; and in order to avoid the suspicion of the crime, of which they are now accused, they might have refused to receive one farthing of those arrears which were acknowledged to be their due ! Here, to be sure, there is no difficulty : they might certainly, if they had pleased, have taken this method ; and by that means they would have effectually saved their reputation ; but it is to be feared they would have incurred the imputation of folly, if not of downright madness.

Or they might have delivered the king's person without any conditions ; and have trusted, for the payment of their arrears, to those expedients, which they might afterwards find it prudent or necessary to employ ! This, it must be owned, is the most eligible course, which they could, possibly, have pursued : but it discovers, at the same time, such a high sense of honour, such a nice sensibility to fame, as, though frequently to be found in private persons, is never to be expected from large and collective bodies, and least of all, in the transactions of one nation with another.

The truth is, the Scots plainly saw, that they behoved, at all events, to resign the custody of the king's person ; and as they  
7 had

108 *The History of ENGLAND.*

had reason to apprehend some difficulty in procuring the payment of their arrears, they thought, that, without injuring their honour, they might lawfully employ this expedient in order to effectuate that purpose.

What has rendered this measure the more odious, are the fatal consequences, with which it was, at last, attended: but it ought to be remembered, that these consequences were neither natural nor necessary, nor indeed, in any degree, probable. Neither the Scots nor the parliament had ever the least intention of proceeding to the violent extremities, which were afterwards pursued.

It was the Independents, determined enemies both to the king, the parliament, and the Scots, who twice seized the king by force, and at last brought him to a cruel and ignominious death, at the very time when the Scots and the Presbyterians, who now composed the majority in parliament, were exerting their utmost endeavours, and even risking their lives and fortunes by rising in arms, in order to restore him to his throne.

When the king was informed of the final resolution of the Scots to deliver him up, he happened to be playing at chess; but so great was his command of temper, that he continued the game, until it was finished;  
and

and none of the bye-standers could discern, by any symptoms of his countenance, that the letter which he read, contained any news of importance.

The English commissioners, who arrived, a few days after, in order to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he behaved to them in the same easy and chearful manner, as if they had come for no other purpose than to pay court to him.

The old earl of Pembroke, in particular, who was one of them, he complimented on the strength and vigour of his constitution; adding, that he was greatly surprized, that, during such a season, he was still able to perform so long a journey, in company with so many young people.

The king, being surrendered by the Scots into the hands of the English commissioners, was conveyed, under a guard, to Holmby, in the county of Northampton.

In his journey to that place, he found the roads crouded with multitudes of people, who flocked from all quarters, to behold his deplorable reverse of fortune. They expressed their pity and affection in tears, lamentations, and fervent prayers for his safety; and such an opinion of his sanctity, at that time, prevailed, that he was earnestly

110 *The History of ENGLAND.*

desired to touch a great number of persons, afflicted with the kings-evil.

During the king's residence in the Scottish camp, died the earl of Essex, the discarded, but still popular and powerful, general of the parliament.

His death, at this critical conjuncture, was a great loss to the public. Conscious of the violent extremities, to which matters had been pushed, and apprehensive of the worse consequences which were still to be dreaded; he had determined to effectuate a peace, and to prevent, if possible, that impending ruin, which now threatened the constitution of his country. The Presbyterians, or moderate party among the commons, suffered a severe blow in his death; and the small share of authority, which still remained to the house of peers, was, in a manner, wholly extinguished.

The Presbyterians and Independents had hitherto acted in perfect concert; but now their mutual jealousies began to appear: and the neuters found it at last necessary to inlist themselves in one or other of the factions\*. Many new writs were issued for elections, in the room of members who had died, or were expelled for their adherence to the

the king : yet still the Presbyterians possessed the superiority among the commons ; and all the peers, except lord Say, were supposed to be of that party.

The Independents, who comprehended all the inferior sectaries, had the chief sway in the army : and the troops of the new model were universally infected with that dangerous spirit. On their assistance chiefly did the Independent party in parliament rely, in their scheme of attaining the ascendant over their antagonists.

No sooner had the Scots evacuated the kingdom, than the Presbyterians, seeing every thing in perfect tranquillity, began to think of disbanding a considerable part of the army : and, on pretence of easing the public burthens, they proposed to ruin the opposite faction.

They intended to transport a strong body of troops, under Skippon and Massey, into Ireland : and they were firmly resolved to make a great reduction of the remainder. It was even thought that they had laid a scheme for making another new model of the army, in order to recover the footing, which they had so imprudently lost by the former.

The soldiers were extremely averse to the service of Ireland ; a country wild, barbarous,

## 112 *The History of ENGLAND.*

rous, and depopulated by massacres and civil commotions : they were still more unwilling to disband, and to relinquish that pay, which, having earned it through so many dangers and fatigues, they now hoped to enjoy in ease and security. And most of the officers, drawn from the meanest of the people, had no other resource, if stripped of their commissions, than that of returning to their original occupation, and languishing out their lives in poverty and obscurity.

Understanding that there were two parties in the house of commons, and that the majority were their enemies, they instantly resolved to interpose their authority, to turn the balance to the other side, and give the ascendant to their friends.

Notwithstanding the great revenue arising from taxes, assessments, sequestrations, and compositions, considerable arrears were owing to the army ; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still undischarged.

The army imagined that this deficiency was an artful contrivance, in order to compel them to live on free quarters ; which, by rendering them odious to the country, might facilitate the project which was formed, for disbanding them.

When



When they observed, that those members, who were employed in committees and civil affairs, acquired, in a short time, such immense fortunes, they openly charged them with rapine and public plunder. And as the commons had not, as yet, agreed upon any scheme for the payment of arrears, the soldiers apprehended, that, after they should be dismissed from the service, or transported to Ireland, their enemies, who prevailed in both houses, would finally cheat them of their right, and oppress them with wantonness and impunity.

Such was the cause or pretence of those commotions which now began to appear in the army. A petition was drawn up and handed about, which they proposed to present to Fairfax their general.

In this address, they required an indemnity, and that confirmed by the king, for any misdemeanors, which, during the course of the war, they might have committed; together with payment of arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded.

The commons were no sooner informed of these proceedings, than they resolved to exert their utmost endeavours, in order to repress the turbulent spirit which now possessed the army.

114. *The History of ENGLAND.*

Besides summoning some officers to answer for this attempt, they instantly voted, that the petition was calculated to excite mutiny, to restrain the liberty of parliament, and to prevent the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to inflict condign punishment on those who had encouraged it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public tranquillity.

This declaration which, considering the present humour of the army, may be deemed imprudent, was attended with the most fatal consequences. The soldiers lamented, that they were thus denied the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not permitted so much as to represent their grievances; that while petitions from Essex and other places were openly received against the army, they were not suffered to speak in their own vindication; and that they, who at the hazard of their lives, had secured the liberties of the nation, were now reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous and intolerable servitude.

Such was the disposition of the army, when Warwic, Dacres, Massiey, and other commissioners arrived with proposals, requiring them to engage in the service of Ireland.

But instead of enlisting the generality rejected the terms; demanded an indemnity; insisted

insisted on their arrears : and though they had no objection to Skippon, they discovered a much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwell.

Some officers, who were of the Presbyterian party, having agreed to the proposals of parliament, could persuade very few of the soldiers to enlist in their companies. And as they were all accused of perfidy and ingratitude in abandoning the army, and betraying the interests of their companions ; the rest were farther confirmed in that combination in which they had engaged.

To petition and remonstrate being the most popular method of conducting a confederacy, an address to parliament was subscribed by near two hundred officers ; in which they apologized for their conduct with a very imperious air, maintained their right of petitioning, and refuted the aspersions cast upon them by the former declaration of the lower house.

The private men also of some regiments wrote a letter to Skippon ; in which, after enlarging on the same topics, they complained, that designs were formed against them by some malicious persons ; and declare, that they could not enlist in the service for Ireland, until they had received their full arrears, and were satisfied in their  
other

## 116 *The History of* ENGLAND.

other demands. The army, in a word, were sensible of their own strength, and resolved to usurp the government of the kingdom.

The parliament foresaw the gathering storm, and endeavoured to prevent it by every possible expedient. But the means, which they now used for this purpose, were the most foolish and imprudent, which they could well have employed. They dispatched Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood to the head quarters at Saffron-Weldon in Essex; and empowered them to make fresh proposals to the army, and examine into the cause of its disorders.

These very generals, at least the three last, were the original authors of all those murmurs and complaints, which prevailed among the soldiers, and which, far from endeavouring to appease, they now took care to inflame. By their advice, a measure was adopted, which rendered the breach still more incurable, and soon brought matters to the last extremity.

To counterballance the authority of the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was erected. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was established in imitation of the house of peers; a more free representative of the army was formed, by the election of two private

vate men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from every company.

This formidable court, when convened, having first declared, that they found no disorders in the army, but many grievances, of which it had reason to complain, immediately voted that the proposals of the parliament could, by no means, be accepted.

Eight weeks pay, alone, they said, was offered; a very small portion of fifty-six weeks, which, they alledged, was owing them: no sufficient security was given for the remainder: and having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be tried and condemned as such, unless that declaration was revoked.

Before matters were pushed to this extremity, Cromwell had repaired to London, on pretence of acquainting the parliament with the rising discontents of the army; but, in reality, to sound the disposition of the members, and to concert the most proper means of accomplishing his future projects.

The parliament made one more attempt to preserve their authority: they decreed, that all the troops, which did not enlist for the service of Ireland, should immediately be disbanded in their quarters.

In

In opposition to this decree, the council of the army appointed a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common safety. And while they thus prepared themselves for an open rupture with their masters, they struck a blow of the last importance, and which may, in some measure, be regarded as wholly decisive.

A party of five hundred horse was detached to Holmby, where the king resided, under the command of one Joyce, who before the commencement of the war had been a taylor by profession; but was now raised to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without meeting with any resistance from the guard, who were secretly attached to the same interest; Joyce came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he behoved immediately to go along with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army;" replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" resumed the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he had brought with him; strong, vigorous, and well accoutered. "Your warrant," said Charles smiling, "is wrote in fair characters, legible without spelling."

The



The parliamentary commissioners, coming into the room, inquired of Joyce whether he had any orders from the parliament? "No," he said: from the general. "No:" by what authority he acted? He made the same answer as to the king: "they would write," they said, "to the parliament to know their pleasure." "You may do so," replied Joyce; "but in the mean time, the king must immediately go along with me."

It was in vain to resist. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, stepped into his coach; and was forthwith conveyed to the army, which was marching to the general rendezvous at Triploheath near Cambridge.

The parliament, apprized of this event by their commissioners, were struck with fear and consternation. Fairfax himself was no less confounded at the king's arrival. That bold exploit, performed by Joyce, had never been imparted to the general,

The orders were entirely verbal; and kept a profound secret: and while every one expressed their surprize at the attempt, Cromwell, by whose direction it had been conducted, arrived from London, and cleared up all their doubts and difficulties.

That

That daring and deceitful conspirator had hitherto behaved himself in parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long imposed on those, who, being themselves thoroughly versed in the same arts, were the more apt to suspect the intentions of others.

At every report of the disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest degree of sorrow and indignation. He wept bitterly: he bewailed the calamities of his country: he recommended every severe expedient for repressing the mutiny; and by these desperate councils, he at once seemed to prove his own sincerity, and increased those discontents, which he proposed to convert to his own advantage.

He protested, that his firm and inviolable fidelity to the parliament had so much exposed him to the hatred of the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger; and that he had narrowly escaped a conspiracy formed on purpose to murder him.

But it being now known, that he was the principal author of those disorders which he affected so much to lament, and that the most active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders determined, that next day when he came to the house,  
an

an accusation should be lodged against him, and he should be instantly committed to the tower.

Cromwell, who, in the prosecution of his desperate projects, frequently ventured to the very brink of destruction, knew how to make the necessary turn with proper dexterity and address. Being secretly apprized of their design, flew to the camp; where he was received with shouts of joy and triumph, and was immediately invested with the supreme direction both of the general and the army.

Fairfax, having neither a turn himself for cabals, nor sagacity to dive into the cabals of others, had reposed an unlimited confidence in Cromwell, who, by the most plausible and specious pretences, and by the affectation of a frank sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, had acquired an ascendant over this brave and virtuous man.

The council of officers and agitators, and indeed the whole body of the army, was directed solely by Cromwell's advice. By his artful and hypocritical conduct, he had now raised himself to a situation; where he could conceal his designs from the eyes of the world; and seeming either to submit to the commands of his superior officer, or comply with the inclinations of

the foldiers, could secretly pave the way for his own aggrandizement.

While the disorders of the army were yet in embryo, he industriously kept at a distance; lest his feigned aversion might check them in their growth, or his secret encouragement create suspicion in the parliament.

But as soon as they were brought to a proper degree of maturity, he openly joined the army; and, at that critical juncture, struck the decisive stroke of securing the king's person, and precluding the parliament from all possibility of coming to an accommodation with him: and that he might allow them no time to recover from the consternation, into which they were thrown, he instantly advanced the troops to the neighbourhood of London.

The parliament, alarmed at the impending danger, began to deliberate concerning the measures, which, in the present necessity, they ought to pursue. London was still attached to the presbyterian party; and its militia, which was numerous, and had distinguished itself extremely in the late wars, had, by a new ordinance, been entrusted to persons, on whom the parliament could intirely rely.

This militia was now marshalled, and commanded to guard the line, which had been drawn about the city, in order to defend

send it against the king. Orders were given for raising immediately a body of horse, and many officers, who had been discarded by the new model of the army, now engaged in the service of the parliament.

General Pointz, who was of the Presbyterian party, commanded an army of five thousand men in the north; but these were too distant to be of any use in the present necessity. The forces, enlisted for Ireland, were encamped in the west; and though esteemed faithful to the parliament, they lay at too great a distance.

Many garrisons were commanded by officers attached to the same party; but their troops, being so scattered and dispersed, could not, in time, be collected. The Scots were steady friends and zealous adherents to Presbytery and the covenant; but several months behoved to elapse, before they could assemble their forces, and advance to the assistance of the parliament.

In this dilemma, it was judged more advisable to yield to the torrent, which they could not oppose, and, by a seeming compliance, to appease the fury of the enraged army.

The declaration, denouncing the military petitioners public enemies, was revoked, and expunged from the journal book. This was the first instance of the parliament's submission; and the army, imagin-

ing that they should be able, by terror alone, to accomplish their purpose, halted at St. Albans, and engaged in a negotiation with their masters.

But it soon appeared that they were not to be satisfied by any concessions. They had no sooner obtained one claim, than they instantly preferred another, still more unjust and unreasonable. At first they ventured only to petition for what related to themselves as soldiers: next they demanded a vindication of their character: then they required, that their enemies should be punished: and at last they pretended to the sole right of regulating the government and settling the nation.

They observed, in their expressions, all due deference and respect to the parliament; but, in effect, treated them in the most haughty and tyrannical manner. That assembly, they said, they presumed not to blame: it was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

They even had the assurance to name eleven members, whom, in express terms, they impeached of high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament.

Their names were Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Mafsey, Glyn, Long, Harley,  
and



and Nichols. These were the very heads of the Presbyterian party.

They demanded that these members should be sequestered from parliament, and committed to prison. The commons said, they could not, upon a general charge, proceed to such extremities. The army replied, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were exactly parallel.

At last, the eleven members themselves, desirous of preserving the public tranquillity, begged leave to withdraw from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed to be satisfied with this mark of submission.

Alledging, that the parliament intended to make war upon the army, and to involve the nation once more in civil discord and confusion, they insisted, that all new levies should be stopped; and the parliament was obliged to yeild to their demand.

Every thing being now in a state of perfect tranquillity, the army in order to satisfy the parliament, retired to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them wherever they went.

That prince was now in a much better situation than at Holmby, and had obtained some greater degree of liberty, as well as of consideration with both parties. All his friends were allowed to approach him: his correspondence with the queen was even

## 126 *The History of* ENGLAND.

permitted : his chaplains were restored, and he was indulged in the use of the liturgy : his children were suffered to visit him, and spent a few days at Caversham, where he then resided.

Cromwell himself behaved to him with unusual respect ; and fortune, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, seemed once more to smile upon him. The parliament, apprehensive of his coming to some agreement with the army, began to address him in a more submissive strain ; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and give his assistance in the settlement of the nation.

All the principal officers treated him with great regard, and talked openly of reinstating him in his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was expressly mentioned. The royalists flattered themselves with the agreeable hopes of seeing monarchy restored ; and the court which they every where paid to the army, tended extremely to elevate the soldiers, and to intimidate the parliament.

The king began to be sensible of his own importance ; and though he readily hearkened to all proposals, and expected to hold the ballance between the contending parties, he was more inclined to an accommodation with the army.

He

He had frequently felt the severity of the parliament. They proposed entirely to extinguish his authority: they had deprived him of his liberty. In both these particulars, the army behaved with greater lenity. They indulged all his friends in a free access to his person: they demanded neither the abolition of episcopacy, nor the punishment of the royalists; the two points, to which the king discovered the greatest aversion: and they insisted that a speedy period should be put to the present parliament; the event for which, of all others, he most ardently longed.

The agreement with the army too seemed more easy than that with the parliament.

By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, the king hoped that he might soon engage the whole military power in his interest, and, in a moment, re-establish himself in his civil authority. To Ireton he promised the lieutenancy of Ireland: to Cromwell, the garter, the title of earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations for this purpose were secretly carried on.

Cromwell affected to listen to them, being desirous to keep the door open for an accommodation, in case he should be disappointed in his more ambitious projects: and the king, who never suspected, that one, born of a private gentleman, could entertain

128 *The History of* ENGLAND.

tain the daring thought of seizing a crown, transmitted through a long race of monarchs; flattered himself with the pleasing hopes that he would, at last, agree to a measure, which in his opinion, all the motives of the duty, interest and safety, prompted him to embrace.

While Cromwell amused the king by these negotiations, he still continued to prosecute his scheme of weakening the authority of the parliament, and reducing them to a total subjection. In compliance with the request of the army, the parliament bestowed upon Fairfax the title of commander in chief all the forces in England and Ireland; and thus committed the whole military power to a person, who, though warmly attached to their interest, was entirely under the direction of Cromwell.

They decreed, that the troops, which, in obedience to their orders, had engaged in the service of Ireland, and abandoned the the mutinous army, should be disbanded, or in other terms, be punished for their fidelity.

The troops, which lay in the north under general Pointz, had already revolted against their general, and had engaged in a confederacy with that body of the army, which was now endeavouring to subject the civil to the military power.

In

In order to deprive the parliament of all resource, it was demanded that the militia of London should be new modelled, the Presbyterian commissioners dismissed, and the command, restored to those, who had enjoyed it during the whole course of the war: even this violent demand was granted by the parliament, and a vote passed for that purpose.

By this unbounded compliance, they hoped to avert the present danger; and they imagined, they should, some time, find a more favourable opportunity of retrieving their power and influence: but the spirited, though imprudent conduct of the city defeated all their cautious measures.

A petition against the change of the militia was drawn up and presented by an infinite number of people, who surrounded the house of commons; and by their earnest importunities, compelled them to annul the vote, which they had lately passed. As soon as they had obtained their request, they peaceably departed, and left the parliament at full liberty.

News of this event being brought to the head-quarters; the army was forthwith put in motion. The two houses being under restraint, they were determined, they said, to defend, against the seditious citizens, the violated privileges of parliament, and to reinstate that assembly in its just liberty of debate and council.

In

130 *The History of* ENGLAND.

In their march to London they were drawn up on Hounslow-heath ; a formidable force, amounting to twenty thousand men, all ready, without regard to law or equity, to execute whatever measures their generals should prescribe.

Here they were surprized with the most favourable event which could possibly have happened, in order to justify or excuse their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthal, accompanied by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having privately withdrawn from the city, arrived in the camp with their maces, and all the other ensigns of their dignity ; and representing, in the strongest colours, the violence which had been offered to them, solicited the army for defence and protection.

They were received with shouts of joy and triumph : respect was shown to them as to the parliament of England : and the army, being furnished with so specious a pretext, which, in all public transactions, is of great importance, advanced to punish the seditious city, and to restore the violated privileges of parliament.

Lenthal and Manchester were both Presbyterians ; and such a step in them was altogether unaccountable : but they probably thought that the army must, in the end, prevail, and they were willing to secure the  
inte-



interest of that party, which already began to gain the ascendant.

The parliament, driven from their temporizing maxims, and obliged, either to abandon, at once, or support by force, their power and liberty, prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and resolved to oppose the violence of the army.

The two houses immediately elected new speakers, lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham : they repeated their former orders for levying troops : they constituted Massey commander : they ordered the trained-bands to guard the lines ; and nothing was to be heard through the whole city but the sound of military preparations.

It soon appeared, however, that all their resources were unequal to the present occasion. As the army advanced, Rainborow, being sent over the river with a party of horse, presented himself before Southwark, and was readily admitted by some soldiers, who were posted there for its defence, and who were determined not to divide their interests from those of the army.

It was now in vain to attempt resistance. The army marched through the city in triumph ; but observed the greatest order and regularity. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats without opposition.

The

The eleven secluded members, being charged as the authors of the tumult, were expelled the house ; and most of them abandoned the kingdom : seven peers were accused of high treason : the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, committed to the tower : several citizens and officers of the militia confined in other prisons : every decree of the parliament reversed from the time of the tumult till the return of the speakers : the lines about the city levelled : the Independents re-established in the command of the militia : regiments stationed in Whitehall and the Meuse : and, in a word, the parliament reduced to a state of the most abject and deplorable slavery.

The leaders of the army having thus established their power and authority, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-court, where he lived, for some time, with an appearance of dignity and freedom.

The parliament renewed their applications to him, and offered him the same conditions, which had been proposed at Newcastle. The king refused to agree to them, and desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and to make them the foundation of the future treaty. He still hoped that his negotiation with the generals would be attended with success ; but in this expectation he was greatly disappointed.

Crom-

Cromwell had no sooner obtained a complete victory over the city and parliament, than he began to alter his behaviour to his majesty. He treated him with less respect: he ordered him to be more strictly guarded: he would hardly allow any of his domestics to speak with him in private: and he employed spies to watch all his words and actions.

Charles now perceived, that he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and began to be apprehensive for his personal safety. He received from the army a new set of proposals, more rigorous and severe than those which had been offered to him at Newcastle; and because he declined to accept them, the officers were highly offended.

Cromwell upbraided Ashburnham, the king's chief confidant, for having assisted his majesty in treating with the Scottish commissioners, in order to engage that nation to declare against the army.

Major Huntington, whom Cromwell had employed in carrying secret messages to the king, informed his majesty, that his employer would ruin him, if not prevented. He instantly resigned his commission, and even offered to discover Cromwell's sinister practices to the parliament; but his offer was rejected.

At last the king being secretly apprized of the dangerous designs that were formed against his life, resolved to withdraw him-

self from the army. Accompanied, only by Sir John Berkley, Ashburnham and Legg, he privately left Hampton-court; and his escape was not discovered till near an hour after his departure; when those, who entered his chamber, found on the table some letters addressed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officers, who had attended him.

All night he travelled through the forest, and next day arrived at Titchfield, a seat of the earl of Southampton, possessed by the countess dowager, a woman of great honour, on whose fidelity, he knew, he might safely depend.

Before he reached this place, he had gone to the sea-coast; and expressed great uneasiness, that a ship, which he seemed to expect, had not arrived; and from thence Berkley and Legg, who were not in the secret, concluded, that his intention was to fly to the continent.

The king, sensible that he could not remain long concealed at Titchfield, began to deliberate what course he ought next to pursue. In the neighbourhood lay the isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governour. This man was entirely devoted to the interest of Cromwell. By his advice, he had espoused a daughter of the celebrated Hampden, who, during his life-time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwell, and for whose memory he ever preserved the most sacred regard. All

All these circumstances bore a very unfavourable aspect : yet because the governour was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and was generally reputed a man of honour and integrity, it was judged proper to apply to him, in the present necessity, when no other expedient could possibly be devised.

Ashburnham and Berkley were sent to the island. They were enjoined to conceal from Hammond, the place of the king's residence, until they had received a promise from him not to deliver him up, though the parliament and army should demand it ; but to leave him at liberty to provide for his own safety, if he could not afford him protection.

This promise, it is plain, could hardly be expected ; and, even if procured, could be of very little use : yet without so much as demanding it, Ashburnham, rashly, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield ; and the king was forced to put himself into his hands, and to accompany him to Carisbroke-castle in the isle of Wight, where, though treated with great marks of duty and submission, he was in fact a prisoner.

Some historians have imagined, that the king's retreat to the isle of Wight, was entirely voluntary ; that he still confided in the promises of the generals ; and flattered himself, that if he was removed from the fury of the agitators, by whom his life was immediately endangered, they would perform

## 136 *The History of ENGLAND.*

whatever they had promised in his favour. Some have supposed, that Ashburnham was outwitted by Cromwell, and made to believe, that, whatever aversion the king might discover to such a measure, he could embrace none, which could be more for his interest. Others have thought that he was actually a traitor, and that, under pretence of serving his majesty, he meant to betray him into the hands of his enemies.

Be this as it will, certain it is Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwell and his enemies. He was now confined in a place, removed from his friends, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be almost impossible to deliver him, either by force or stratagem: and though Cromwell, had he thought proper, might, at any time, have sent him thither; yet such a measure would necessarily have been attended with much envy, and perhaps even with some danger.

That the king, of his own accord, without any necessity, should rush into the snare, and at once incur the imputation of folly, and gratify his implacable enemies, was an incident no less favourable to them, than, in the issue, it proved fatal and destructive to himself.

Cromwell, having now reduced the parliament to an entire subjection, and effectually secured the king's person, resolved to suppress these disorders in the army which  
he



he himself had so artfully raised, and so successfully employed, both against the king and parliament.

In order to instigate the troops to a rebellion against their masters, he indulged the inferior officers and private men in very licentious practices; and the camp, in many respects, had more the appearance of civil liberty, than of military submission.

The troops themselves composed a kind of commonwealth; and the plan of imaginary republics for the settlement of the state, were, every day, discussed by these armed legislators.

Royalty they were determined to abolish: nobility must undergo the same fate: even all distinction of rank must be destroyed: and an universal equality of power, as well as of property, be established among the citizens.

In order to extinguish this licentious spirit, which was now grown to a great height, Cromwell had prohibited, by express orders, the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended only to obey the commands of the parliament, whom, having now subjected to a regular servitude, he resolved to use, for the future, as the instruments of his authority.

But the levellers, for so that party in the army was named, having once tasted the sweets of dominion, would not so easily resign their power. They still continued to hold their meetings: they affirmed, that

## 138 *The History of* ENGLAND.

their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation: petitions and remonstrances were presented by several regiments: sepearte rendezvouses were appointed: and every thing seemed to threaten a total anarchy and confusion.

But this storm was now dispelled by the vigorous and spirited conduct of Cromwell. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, attended by a guard of chosen men, and began to expostulate with them on the dangerous consequences of their violent measures.

Receiving an insolent answer from one of the most licentious, he knocked down two or three of them with his own hand, and falling on the rest with incredible fury, he dispersed the whole body, caused some of them to be hanged by sentence of a court-martial, and sent a considerable number prisoners to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he subdued the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission.

Cromwell had a great regard for the opinion of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesmen on the fanatic, had embraced such principles, as were calculated to support the severest tyranny, while they seemed to allow of the most unbounded licence in human society.

Cruel

Cruel in nature, though probably sincere in his intentions; he proposed by despotic power to establish liberty, and in the prosecution of his favourite purposes, he thought himself absolved from all the obligations of morality, by which other mortals must regulate their actions. By his advice, Cromwell privately assembled at Windsor a council of the principal officers in order to consult about the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person.

In this conference it is generally supposed that the daring, and audacious design of bringing the king to trial and punishing him by a judicial sentence, was first broached and concerted. While Charles lived, even though confined in the closest custody, conspiracies and insurrections, they knew, would always be raising in favour of a prince so much beloved by his own party; and for whom the people in general began to entertain some pity and compassion.

To assassinate him privately, besides the baseness and villainy of the crime, was liable to the charge of injustice and cruelty: and every odious epithet of traitor and murderer, would, by the united voice of mankind, be affixed to the authors of such an atrocious deed.

Some daring expedient must be attempted, which would confound the world by its novelty, would carry the appearance of justice, and would cover its barbarity by the bold-

boldness of the enterprize. Humouring the favourite notions of the perfect equality of mankind, it would effectually secure the attachment of the army, and serve as an indissoluble bond of union against the royal family, whom, by their open and common deed, they would thus offend beyond all possibility of forgiveness.

This measure, therefore, being secretly concerted, it was necessary, by degrees, to make the parliament embrace it, and push them from violence to violence; till this last act of iniquity should seem, in a manner, wholly unavoidable.

The king, in order, if possible, to satisfy the wishes of his people, had promised, by a message, sent from Carisbroke-castle, to relinquish, during his own life, the power of the militia and the appointment of all the officers of state; on condition, that, after his death, these prerogatives should be restored to the crown.

But the parliament, directed by the Independents and army, instead of agreeing to these terms, drew up four propositions, which they sent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his positive assent, before they would engage in any treaty.

By the first, he was desired to bestow upon the parliament the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to raise whatever money should be found necessary for  
sup-

supporting the forces; and, even after the expiration of the twenty years, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever the safety of the kingdom should seem to require it.

By the second, he must revoke all the proclamations and declarations which he had issued against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms for their own just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to repeal all the acts, and cancel all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, from the time of its being carried to Oxford by the lord-keeper Littleton.

By the fourth, he must grant the two houses power to adjourn as they pleased: a demand, in appearance, of no great moment; but calculated by the Independents with a view of removing the parliament to places, where it would be wholly under the direction of the army.

The king thought it hard, that he should be obliged to make such concessions, while nothing was stipulated in his favour; and to depend entirely on the generosity of his enemies, for what he should afterwards obtain.\* He requested, therefore, a personal treaty with the parliament, and begged, that the terms, on both sides, should be previously settled, before any concessions were demanded.

The

## 142 *The History of ENGLAND.*

The Independents in the house were enraged at this answer, and poured out the most bitter invectives, against the person and government of the king; whose name hitherto in all private debates, had been generally treated with respect and regard. Cromwell and Ireton distinguished themselves particularly on this occasion. The former, after making an ample encomium on the bravery, fidelity, and piety of the army, observed, that it was expected the parliament should govern and settle the nation by their own power and authority, and not teach the people any longer to hope for safety and protection from an obstinate man, whose heart God has hardened; that those, who, at the hazard of their lives, had hitherto protected the parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fortitude and courage to support them against all their enemies, in the execution of this vigorous measure. "Tempt them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom, in which theirs too is included, to think themselves betrayed, and their interest abandoned to the rage and malice of an implacable enemy, whom for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware, (and at these words he lay his hand upon his sword) beware lest despair drive them to seek safety by some other means, than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety." The



The parliament were intimidated into a compliance; though ninety-one members had the spirit to dissent. It was voted, that no more addresses should be presented to the king, nor any letters or messages be received from him; and that it should be treason for any one, without the permission of the two houses, to hold any correspondence with him. The lords, unable to resist, were obliged to concur in the same ordinance.

By this vote of non-addresses, (so it was termed) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole government entirely subverted. In order to justify so violent a measure, an expedient no less violent was employed. They published a declaration, containing all the invectives of the famous remonstrance, and even many additional reproaches on the king's conduct, which, in that paper, they had not presumed to mention; such as the poisoning his father, the betraying of Rochelle, the contriving the Irish massacre.

No sooner was this step taken, than Hammond, in obedience to the orders of the army, discarded all his majesty's servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and subjected him to a more strict and rigorous confinement.

The Independents, mean while, enjoyed no, in tranquillity, that power, which they had acquire with so much violence and injustice. Combination and conspiracies, they

they knew, were, every where, forming around them; and Scotland, formerly so unpropitious to the royal cause, seemed now to promise it some support and assistance.

The earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were sent to London with the title of commissioners, protested against the four propositions; as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion: but this protestation was entirely disregarded by the parliament. Provoked at this and many other indignities, to which they were exposed; touched with compassion for the misfortunes of their sovereign, whom they had formerly persecuted, but now pitied; alarmed at the unbounded power of the Independents, whom they mortally hated; dreading the total abolition of Presbytery, to which they were zealously attached: prompted by these and many other motives, they secretly concluded a treaty with the king, and undertook to arm Scotland in his favour.

Scotland was, at that time, divided into three parties. The royalists, who demanded the re-establishment of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects or opinions. Of these Montrose, though absent, was considered as the head.

The rigid Presbyterians, who positively insisted on a perfect uniformity of worship; strenuously opposed all kind of toleration; and were resolved to give no assistance to  
his

his majesty, until he should sign the covenant: these were directed by Argyle. The moderate Presbyterians, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion with those of the crown; and hoped, by assisting the Presbyterian party in England, to subdue the Independent army, and to restore the parliament, as well as the king, to their just freedom and authority: this party was governed by the two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric.

When Pendennis-castle submitted to the parliamentary forces, Hamilton, who was then set at liberty, retired into Scotland; and influenced more by the memory of ancient favours, than the sense of recent injuries, he exerted himself, with equal vigour and success, in supporting the royal cause.

He procured a vote of parliament to raise forty thousand men for the king's service: he was likewise permitted to recal a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster: and though he openly pretended that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly concluded an alliance with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who surprized Berwick and Newcastle, and assembled a considerable army in the north of England.

The general assembly, which met at the same time, and chiefly consisted of rigid Presbyterians, began to be apprehensive of

the consequences. They were afraid, that the opposite party, if it prevailed, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of Presbytery; and they therefore employed their whole influence in preventing the execution of the parliament's orders.

This unhappy prejudice contributed greatly to retard the completion of Hamilton's armament; and that nobleman was obliged, in order to save appearances, to disclaim all connection with the royal party; though he secretly promised them trust and preferment, so soon as his army should arrive in England.

While the Scots were preparing for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was filled with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. The Presbyterians, who, by their credit and interest, had chiefly supported the war, were provoked to find themselves over-reached and over-powered by the fraud and chicanery of the Independents. The royalists, incensed at the cruel treatment which the king suffered from the army, were strongly prompted to restore him to liberty, and to regain the advantages, which they had formerly lost. All orders of men were fired with indignation at seeing the civil subjected to the military power, and the king and parliament at once enslaved by a mercenary army. But though the whole nation seemed

to

to unite in their hatred of military usurpation, the views entertained by the several parties, were so different, that little concert was observed in these insurrections.

Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, Presbyterian officers, who headed bodies of troops in Wales, were the first who declared themselves, and assembled a considerable army in those counties, which were warmly attached to the royal cause. Young Hales and the earl of Norwich excited commotions in Kent. An insurrection was raised in Essex by lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle. The earl of Holland, who, since the beginning of the civil wars, had frequently shifted sides, endeavoured to collect forces in Surrey. Morrice had surprised the castle of Pomfret, in Yorkshire.

What seemed of the greatest importance, was the general spirit of discontent that had seized the navy. No less than seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared against the army; and setting Rainsborow, their admiral, on shore, sailed over to Holland, and put themselves under the command of the prince of Wales.

The English royalists exclaimed loudly against Hamilton's delays, which they imputed to the selfish views of the Scots; as if their design was, that all the king's party should be totally subdued, and the honour of the victory belong solely to the Presbyterians,

## 148 *The History of ENGLAND.*

Hamilton, on his part, complained of the rash and precipitate conduct of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, compelled him to begin his operations before he had assembled above one third of his army.

No commotions had happened in London, except a tumult of the apprentices, who were soon dispersed : the presence of the army overawed the discontented citizens. The parliament too was so intimidated, that they voted the Scots to be enemies, and all who assisted them traitors. Ninety members, however, of the lower house had the spirit to oppose this measure.

Cromwell and the military council exerted themselves with equal courage and success. The complement of the army was, at that time, twenty-six thousand men ; but, by enlisting supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly increased, and commonly amounted to more than double the regular number.

Colonel Horton first marched against the revolted troops in Wales, and after a smart action, put them to flight. The fugitives took refuge in Pembroke, where they were closely invested, and soon after taken by Cromwell. Lambert was sent against Langdale and Musgrave in the north, and worsted them in several encounters. Sir Michael Livesey attacked the earl of Holland at Kingston, and after routing his forces, chased him to St. Neot's, where he took him prisoner.

Fair-



Fairfax, having beat the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, pursued the broken army ; and, when, reinforced by the Essex insurgents, they shut themselves up in Colchester, he instantly laid siege to that place, which held out to the last extremity. A new fleet was equipped, and entrusted to the command of Warwick, who was ordered to oppose the seventeen ships which had revolted to the prince of Wales.

While the forces were removed at a distance, the parliament recovered its former liberty, and began to act with its usual spirit and resolution. The members, who had absented themselves from the terror of the army, resumed their seats ; and inspiring their companions with fresh courage, restored to the Presbyterians that superiority of which they had been so unjustly deprived.

The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote, by which they had been expelled, was annulled. The vote of non-addresses was likewise reversed ; and commissioners, five peers and ten commoners, were dispatched to Newport in the isle of Wight, in order to engage in a treaty with the king. He was allowed to convene several of his friends and old counsellors, that he might consult them occasionally in the course of the treaty ; but they were not permitted to assist at the conferences. He alone, during a negotiation of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in the nation ;

and notwithstanding this disadvantage, he acquitted himself with surprising ability. This indeed was a scene in which, above all others, he was fitted to excel. A quick apprehension, a nice discernment, a solid judgment, a correct elocution, were talents he is allowed to have possessed in a very eminent degree, and by these he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning.

"The king is much altered," said the earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always so; but now at last you are convinced of it." Sir Harry Vane observed, that, on account of the king's great abilities, the terms of agreement should be rendered more strict and severe. But Charles's capacity was not equally conspicuous in acting as in speaking.

The first point demanded by the parliamentary commissioners, was the king's revoking all the proclamations and declarations which he had issued against the parliament, and owning them to have taken arms in their own defence. He readily granted the first concession; but long hesitated with regard to the latter. He confessed, indeed, that he had unhappily, in some particulars, encroached on the privileges of the people: but having relinquished all claim to these usurped powers, having acknowledged his error, and having restored the laws to their former vigour, and even erected new barriers in order

to secure them, he could not conceive how the commencement of the war could be justly imputed to him. Though the discontent excited by his former conduct, and the jealousy entertained of his future measures, might render an offensive or preventive war both prudent and reasonable in the parliament, it could never surely, with any propriety, be termed a defensive one. But the parliament, conscious, that, by the letter of the law, they were liable to the penalties of high-treason, judged this point indispensably necessary for their future safety; and the king, finding that peace could not be expected on any other terms, at last sacrificed his own judgment to the apprehensions of his subjects. He only entered a protest, which was readily admitted; that no concession, which he might make, should be binding and valid, unless the whole treaty was brought to a happy conclusion. He consented, that the parliament should possess, during the space of twenty years, the power of the militia and army, and of raising what sums they thought proper for their subsistence. He even granted them the right of re-assuming this authority, at any future period, whenever they should deem such a resumption necessary for the public safety. In effect, the important power of the sword was, for ever, transferred from the prince to the people. He was willing, that all the great officers, during twenty years, should be named by the parliament. He re-  
signed

signed to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war in that kingdom. He parted with the power of the wards, in consideration of a fixed revenue of an hundred thousand pounds a year. He owned the authority of their great seal, and chearfully gave up his own. He relinquished the power of creating peers without consent of parliament: and he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in maintaining the war against him, should be discharged by the people.

These concessions must certainly be allowed to have been very considerable, and to have almost produced a total change of the English constitution. Of all the demands of the parliament Charles refused only two. Though he had resigned so large a share of his own power, he would neither abandon his friends to punishment, nor betray what he considered as his religious duty.

The severe repentance, which he had suffered, for consenting to the death of the unhappy Strafford, had determined him, doubtless, to abstain, for the future, from the deliberate commission of the like error.

His long confinement and heavy afflictions had contributed extremely to strengthen those religious principles, by which he was, at all times, considerably swayed. His desire, however, of coming to an agreement, engaged him to go as far in both these particulars, as he judged, in any way, consistent with his duty.

The

The estates of the royalists, being generally sequestered, Charles, who could give them no relief, agreed, that they should pay such compositions, as should be concerted between them and the parliament; and only desired, that they might be as moderate as possible.

As he no longer enjoyed the disposal of offices, he consented, with the greater indifference, that a certain number of his friends should be declared incapable of public employments.

But when the parliament insisted on a bill of attainder and banishment against the marquis of Newcastle, lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins; the king gave a flat refusal: their banishment for a certain time he was willing to allow.

Religion was a point of no less difficult discussion, and as little capable of being adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the two parties.

The parliament demanded the establishment of Presbytery, the sale of the chapter-lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and severer laws against the Catholics.

The king was willing to retrench every thing, which he did not believe of apostolical institution: he was content to abolish archbishops, deans, prebendaries, canons: he consented that the chapter-lands should be let at low leases during ninety years: he agreed that the present church government should

should remain during three years ; after that time he desired not that any thing should be restored to the bishops but the power of ordination, nor should even that be exercised without the advice of the Presbytery. If the parliament, after the expiration of that period, should be unwilling to grant that concession, all other parts of episcopal jurisdiction were to be abolished, and a new form of ecclesiastical government must, by common consent, be established. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but begged the freedom of using some other liturgy in his own chapel : a request, which, however just and reasonable, he could not, by any means, obtain.

It was plainly the interest, both of king and parliament, to complete their treaty with the utmost dispatch ; and endeavour, if possible, by their joint forces, to subdue the fury of the usurping army. But so exorbitant were the demands of the parliamentary commissioners, that the king, apprehending no worse conditions even from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to an agreement. From this cause, together with the arts and intrigues of the Independents, the treaty was protracted to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where suppressed ; and the army had time to return to London, and to carry their violent designs into execution.

Hamil-



Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous though irregular army, durst not join his forces to those of Langdale; because the English royalists declined taking the covenant; and the Scottish Presbyterians, though acting for the king, could not be persuaded to incorporate with them on any other terms.

The two armies marched together, though at some small distance; and, in the whole, might consist of twenty thousand men. Cromwell ventured to encounter them with a body not amounting to the half of that number. He surprised Langdale near Preston in Lancashire; and though the royalists behaved with uncommon bravery, yet, not being properly supported by their confederates, they were almost entirely put to the sword.

Hamilton was next attacked, his troops defeated, and chased to Utoxeter, where he himself was taken prisoner. Cromwell pursued his victory; and advancing into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms, and having subdued Laneric, Monro, and other moderate Presbyterians, he invested the rigid party with the whole force of the kingdom.

The siege of Colchester ended in a manner no less unfavourable than Hamilton's invasion for the royal cause. After enduring the utmost extremity of famine, after living on the vilest aliments, the garrison offered, at last, to capitulate. Fairfax commanded them to submit at discretion; and he explain-

156 *The History of* ENGLAND.

ed these terms in such a manner, as to reserve to himself the power, if he pleased, of putting them all immediately to the sword. In vain did the officers endeavour to persuade the soldiers to make a furious sally, and either to break through the besiegers, or, at least, to sell their lives as dear as possible.

They were forced to accept of the conditions offered ; and Fair ax, prompted by Ireton, to whom Cromwell in his absence had entrusted the management of the passive general, seized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and determined to sacrifice them to the fury of the army. This unexampled instance of cruelty was loudly condemned by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, regardless of danger, upbraided Ireton with his savage barbarity ; and challenged him, as they were all embarked in the same cause, to inflict the same punishment on all of them without exception.

Lucas was first shot ; he himself gave orders to fire, with the same intrepidity, as if he had been at the head of his own soldiers, Lisle, having embraced the breathless body of his friend, immediately presented himself to a like fate. Imagining that the soldiers, appointed for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he desired them to come nearer. One of them said, “ I’ll warrant you, Sir, “ we’ll hit you :” he answered with a smile, “ Friends, I have been nearer you when you “ have missed me.” The soldiers discharging their pieces, in an instant an end was put to his life.

By

By these numerous successes the army had triumphed over all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless king and parliament to stem the torrent of their rage. At Cromwell's instigation, a remonstrance was framed by the general council of officers, and presented to the parliament.

They there condemn the treaty with the king; insist on his punishment for the blood shed during the war; demanded the dissolution of the present parliament, and a more free representative for the future; and affirm, that, though servants, they have a right to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no more than the servants and ministers of the people.

At the same time they arrive with the army at Windsor, and dispatch colonel Eure to seize the king's person at Newport, and transport him to Hurst-Castle, where he was immured in the closest confinement.

As this event had, for some time, been expected, he was advised to make his escape, which, it was supposed, he might easily have done: but having given his promise to the parliament, that he would not attempt the recovery of his liberty, during the treaty, and three weeks afterwards; he could not be persuaded, by any arguments, to incur the imputation of having broken his word.

The parliament, though on all hands surrounded with the most imminent danger, was not reduced to a total despair. However unable to resist the usurpations of the army, they nobly determined to oppose them to the last; and rather to involve the nation in absolute anarchy and confusion, than to give their authority to those violent and desperate measures which were now projected.

They deigned not to return any answer to the remonstrances of the army; they declared the seizing the king's person to be illegal, and sent a message to the general to enquire by what authority he had taken that step, and they issued orders, prohibiting the army to approach nearer London.

Hollis, the present head of the Presbyterians, was a man of the most undaunted courage; and many others of that party were possessed of the same magnanimous spirit. It was moved by them, that the general and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be denounced traitors by the parliament.

But the generals, conscious of their own strength, were not to be intimidated by threats and menaces. Employing the name of Fairfax, (for he still suffered them to make use of his name) they conducted the army to London, and planting guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St.

*THOMAS* Lord *FAIRFAX.*



*J. H. W. sculp*

*Engraved for Rider's History of England.*





St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-Garden, and Palace-yard, they encompassed the parliament with their hostile armaments.

Even this violent outrage was not sufficient to subdue the parliament. They endeavoured, in the face of the army, to finish their treaty with the king; and though they had formerly declared his concessions, with regard to religion and delinquents, to be unsatisfactory, they now resolved to consider them afresh.

After a warm debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of an hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, in the house of commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the house to proceed upon in the settlement of the nation.

Next day, when the commons were to assemble, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had surrounded the house with two regiments; and assisted by the lord Grey of Groby, he arrested, in the passage, forty-one members of the Presbyterian party, and confined them to a low room, which was commonly distinguished by the appellation of Hell; from whence they were afterwards conducted to several inns.

About an hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were suffered to enter but the most furious and desperate of

the Independents, who hardly amounted to sixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament, was commonly known by the name of Colonel Pride's Purge.

The remaining part of the parliament, if this insignificant assembly deserves that honourable name, are such as might naturally be expected from the frantic members of which it was now composed.

They forthwith annulled the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They resolved, that no members, absent at this last vote, should be admitted until they had signed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They confirmed their former vote of non-addresses; and they ordered into custody sir William Waller, sir John Clotworthy, the generals Massey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the Presbyterians.

The excluded members having published a paper, representing the outrages which had been offered to them, and protesting against all acts, which, from that time, should be passed in the house of commons; the Independent members opposed it by a declaration, in which they declared it a false, scandalous, seditious libel, and tending to the subversion of the fundamental liberties and privileges of the parliament.

These

These sudden and violent revolutions filled the whole nation with terror and amazement. Every man trembled for his personal safety, and feared being crushed in pieces amidst the furious struggles of the contending parties.

Many began to convey their effects to the continent: foreigners scrupled to give any credit to a people so distracted by intestine discord, and harrassed and oppressed by military usurpation: even the internal trade of the kingdom began to be interrupted; and in order to remedy these growing evils, the generals, in the army's name, issued a declaration, in which they declared their firm resolution to maintain law and justice.

In order to allay the apprehensions of the public, the council of officers took under consideration, a scheme, called "the agreement of the people;" being the form of a republic, to be erected in place of that government, which they had now entirely dissolved.

Many parts of this scheme for reforming the representative, were very specious; had the people been willing to accept it, or had the army resolved to establish it. Other parts are of too romantic a nature to be reduced to practice, and strongly mark the fanatical spirit of the age.

This military parliament (for such it deserves to be called) now proceeded to the last act of violence and outrage; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this point, was every measure directed by the zealous Independents.

The parliamentary leaders of that party had proposed, that the army should, themselves, perpetrate that daring crime; and they esteemed so irregular and lawless a deed best adapted to such irregular and lawless instruments.

But the generals were too wise to be caught in the snare: they were unwilling to take on themselves the whole load of that infamy, which must necessarily attend an action of so odious and detestable a nature. The parliament, they were determined, should share with them the reproach of a measure, which was deemed necessary for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition.

In the house of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to draw up a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason, in a king of England, to make war upon his parliament; and erecting a high court of justice to try his majesty for this new species of treason. This vote was carried up to the house of peers.

The house of peers, during the whole course of the civil wars, had possessed little authority or influence; but since the king's fall, it had become wholly insignificant; and most of the members, disgusted at the public proceedings, declined to give their attendance.

It happened, however, that day, to be more full than usual, and they were convened to the number of sixteen. Without the least doubt or hesitation, they unanimously rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping, by this means, to restrain the furious career of the commons.

The commons were not to be diverted from their purpose by so small an obstacle.\* Having first advanced a principle, which, in a restricted sense, is very just, but could never be applied to the present occasion, "that the people are the origin of all lawful power;" they likewise decreed, that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being elected by the people, and representing them, are possessed of the supreme authority; and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of the king, or house of peers.

The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, as they now called him,

\* A. D. 1649,

him, was again read, and unanimously approved. Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and one of the most furious fanatics of the army, was ordered to conduct the king to London, under a strong guard.

At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there confined in prison, was admitted into the king's presence; and, falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, "My dear master"! The unhappy monarch raised him up, and, embracing him tenderly, replied, "I have indeed been a dear master to you."

The king was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all bathed in tears, and foretold, that this was the last time he should ever see his unfortunate prince. Charles himself was convinced, that his end was now fast approaching; but, notwithstanding all the assurances which he received from different quarters, he could not be persuaded, that his enemies really intended to bring him to a public trial and execution.

A private assassination he every hour apprehended; and, though Harrison told him that his fears were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so common with dethroned princes, that he expected to finish his life. In appearance, as well as reality, the king was dethroned. All the external ensigns of royalty were



were removed, and his attendants were ordered to serve him without ceremony.

At first he was offended at these marks of rudeness, and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed. "Nothing," said he, "is so contemptible as a despised prince!" But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

Every circumstance of the trial was now adjusted; and the high court of justice finally erected. It was composed of an hundred and thirty-three persons, as named by the commons; but so great was the general aversion to these violent proceedings, that more than seventy never attended.

Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and all the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean extraction, were members, together with some members of the lower house, and some citizens of London.

The twelve judges were, at first, enrolled in the number; but as they had declared, that, according to the letter of the English laws and the genius of the English constitution, it was impossible to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards expunged.

Bradshaw,

Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke acted as solicitor for the people of England. Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, attended as assistants. The court assembled in Westminster-hall.

It was remarked, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of lord Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from the gallery, and cried, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "in the name of the good people of England;" "That is a lye," said the same voice, in a shriller tone, "Not a half nor a quarter: Where are the people or their representatives? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor."

Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, gave orders to fire at the place from whence these insolent speeches proceeded, calling out, "Down with the whores; shoot them:" but it was soon found, that lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had the courage to utter them. She was a person of very noble birth, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but, being misled by the prejudices of the times, she had long encouraged her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, filled with abhorrence

at

at the fatal and unexpected consequences of all his victories and successes.

Never was beheld, in any age or nation, a more awful, solemn, and august scene, than what was now exhibited; the delegates of a great people, sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust.

The solicitor opened the charge, in the name of the commons; and represented, that Charels Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power; yet, nevertheless, from a wicked design to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical government, had traiterously and maliciously made war upon the present parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore accused as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the impeachment was finished, the president addressed himself to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The king, though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, supported, by his innate courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he disowned the authority of the court, and refused to acknowledge their usurped jurisdiction.

He

He said, that, having been engaged in a treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having adjusted almost every article, he expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and, before this time, to have been restored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his personal freedom: that he could not now observe any appearance of the upper house, so essential a part of the constitution; and had heard, that the commons themselves, whose authority was pretended, were overpowered by lawless force, and were deprived of their liberty: that he himself was their native, hereditary king; nor could the whole authority of the state, though free and unanimous, have any right to try him, who received his dignity from the supreme majesty of heaven: that even admitting those republican principles, which were so prevalent, and which destroyed all distinction of rank, the court could plead no power bestowed by the people; unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant mechanic, had been previously asked and obtained: that he owned, without scruple that he had a trust committed to him, and one of a most sacred and inviolable nature; he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by acknowledging a power founded upon the most glaring violence and

and usurpation : that those, who presumptuously claimed a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws, which affirm, " that the king can do " no wrong : " that he was under no necessity of having recourse to that general maxim which protects every English monarch, even the least deserving ; but was able, by the most convincing reasons, to vindicate those measures in which he had been engaged : that to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was willing, if desired in another manner, to demonstrate the integrity of his conduct, and maintain the justice of those defensive arms, which, with so much reluctance, he had been obliged to employ ; but that, in order to observe an uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, omit the vindication of his innocence ; lest, by ratifying an authority so inconsistent with law and equity, he may be justly accused as the betrayer, instead of being extolled as the martyr, of the constitution.

The president, in order to defend the majesty of the people, and assert the superiority of the court above the prisoner, still insisted, that he must not deny the authority of his judges ; that they over-ruled his objections ; that they were deputed by the people, the only source of every lawful power ; and that kings them-

selves were no better than servants of that community, which had bestowed upon this high court its authority and jurisdiction.

Three several times did Charles appear before the court, and as often did he decline to own their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having taken the depositions of some witnesses, by which it was proved, that Charles had been seen in arms against the forces levied by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him.

He earnestly begged to be heard before the two houses, in the painted chamber; and it was generally supposed, that he meant to resign the crown in favour of his son: but the court refused to grant his request, which they considered merely as a delay to justice.

In walking through the hall to the place of his confinement, the soldiers, prompted by their superiors, were induced to cry aloud for justice. They loaded him with the most cruel and bitter reproaches: they blew into his face the smoke of tobacco, which was particularly offensive to his organs; and one of the most brutal, had even the insolence to spit in his face.

These insults he bore with his usual piety and meekness. "Poor souls," said he, "for a little money they would treat their commander in the same manner:" and he earnestly



earnestly implored the forgiveness of heaven, on his cruel and barbarous prosecutors.

The people, though under the rod of lawless, arbitrary power, could not refrain from pouring forth their most ardent prayers for his safety; and, in his present distress, they acknowledged him, by their generous tears, for their sovereign, whom, in their former fury, they had so violently rejected. The king was affected at this tender scene, and he expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection.

A soldier too, moved by contagious sympathy, called down a blessing from heaven on oppressed and fallen majesty: his officer, overhearing his petition, struck him to the ground in the king's presence. "The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence:" was the only reflection which Charles made on the occasion.

The design of trying the king was no sooner known in foreign nations, than all men, under whatever form of government they lived, expressed their abhorrence of an action, which they considered as the most heinous insult on law and justice.

The French ambassador was ordered, by his court, to interpose in his majesty's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed, with great vehemence, against this outrage; the queen, the prince,

wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. Nothing, however, was able to alter the resolutions of men, whose purposes were irrevocably fixed and determined.

Four of Charles's friends, not more distinguished by their rank than their probity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey, applied to the commons.

They declared, that they were the king's counsellors, and had advised all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their sovereign : that, according to the spirit of the English laws, and even the dictates of common equity, they, and they only, were guilty, and ought alone to answer for every blameable action of the prince : and that they now offered themselves, with the greatest alacrity, in order to save, by their own death, that precious life, which it was the duty of the commons, and of every other subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. This noble effort does great honour to their memory ; but had no effect in preventing the untimely fate of the king.

Three days were allowed him, between his sentence and execution. This interval he chiefly employed in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, were suffered to attend him. It consisted only of the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester ;

Gloucester; for the duke of York had made his escape into Holland.

Gloucester was little more than an infant: the princess, though extremely young, discovered a judgment much above her years, and expressed a deep concern for the calamities of her family. After many pious exhortations and advices, he charged her to tell the queen, that, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, swerved from his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal affection, and his life, should have the same duration.

To the young duke too, he could not forbear giving some admonitions, in order to season his tender mind with the principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words, the child looked up to him with great earnestness. "Mark! child, what I say: they will cut off thy father's head! and, perhaps, make thee a king: but mark what I say: thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads, when they can catch them! and thy head too, they will cut off at last! And, therefore, I charge thee do not be made a king by  
P 3 "them!"

“ them !” The duke, sighing, replied, “ I will be torn in pieces first.” So resolute and pertinent an answer, from one of such tender years, drew tears of joy and admiration from the eyes of the king.

The night immediately preceding his execution, he spent in devotion with bishop Juxon, who was allowed to attend him, and who left him so indifferent about his fate, that he slept quietly for four hours. Rising early in the morning, he desired Herbert, one of his attendants, to dress him with more than usual care ; and, while he was employed in his prayers, colonel Hacket summoned him from St. James’s, where he lay, to Whitehall, where he was to suffer.

In his melancholy march through the Park, which was lined with armed soldiers, he discovered unusual alacrity, and was so composed in his mind, that he ordered Herbert to take along with him a little silver clock, which hung by his bed-side, that he might proportion his devotions to the time he had to live.

But all the resignation, with which Charles prepared for death, could not persuade his enemies that he would meet it without a struggle. The melancholy aspect of the soldiers, in general, frightened them ; and they had nothing to trust to for the quiet execution





A Copy of the **WARR**

At the high Court  
Steuart King of

Whereas, Charles Steuart King of England is  
and other high Officers And Sentences upon said  
Sentence of his Head from his body Of no<sup>th</sup> Sentence  
requires you to see the said Sentence executed In the  
this instant month of January Between the hour  
day no<sup>th</sup> full effort And for so doing this shall be  
and other the good people of this Nation of England  
Doaks

~~To Colonel Henry Gales Colonel Henry~~ Har Waller  
~~and Lieutenant Colonel John~~ Per.  
of them

For Bradshawe

Thos. Grey

Commwll

Edw. Whalley

Limesey  
John Key

Dawes

Go. Bouchier

H. Greston

Tho. Maudslayi

John Blakiston

W. Hutchinson

Willitts

Thomson

Le Temple

Harrison

Hewson

Henry  
Per.

Ri

Robert

James

Owen

William

John

James



**WARRANT signed for the Death of CHARLES I.**

of Justice for the trying and indyning of Charles  
of England January ~~the~~<sup>th</sup> Anno Dni 1648.

and standeth convicted attainted and condemned of high Treason  
was pronounced against him by this Court to be putt to death by the  
execution yet remaineth to be done These are therefore to will and  
open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the Thirtieth Day of  
of Decem in the mornings and fives in the afternoons of the same  
by your sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Soldiers  
to be assisting unto ~~you~~ this Service Given under 3 hands and

Smyth	Harland	Symon Mayne	Tho wogan
Pelham	Edm: Ludlowe	Tho: Horton	John Penn
Deane	Henry Marten	Jones	Gregory Clement
Gibborne	Wm <sup>r</sup> & Potter	John Denne	Jo: Dounes
	Wm: Constable	Gilbt Millington	Tholl Wayte
	Rich Ingoldesby	Cfleewood	Tho: Scot
	Will: Cawley	J. Hurd	Jo: Careu
	Jo Barkstead	Robt Silburne	Miles Corbet
	Waa. Ewer	Will Jay	
	John Dixwell	Anth Stapley	
	Valentine Wauton	Che Norton	
		Tho Challoner	

1861

1862

1863

1864

1865

tion of the sentence, but the terrors of martial law, and the fierceness of a chosen band of ruffians, who were dispersed through the ranks, or kept close to the person of Charles.

It is remarkable, that Hugh Peters, the furious fanatical preacher, who was, in reality, the king's chief jailor, and ordered every thing about his attendance or company, was apprehensive, that Charles might refuse to lay his head upon the block.

To provide against this inconvenience, Peters caused some iron staples to be driven into the scaffold, through which ropes were to be run, in order to force Charles to stoop, and to fix his head on the block until the fatal stroke should be given : so determined were the regicides not to abate one tittle in the form, any more than in the cruelty, of their sentence.

When Charles came upon the scaffold, after finishing his devotions with the bishop, he observed, but smiled at this barbarous, though unnecessary, precaution. Even in his last moments, he retained the virtuous pride of dying with decency, and, the weather being extremely cold, he fortified nature by taking a small refreshment of bread and wine, and wearing a shirt more than usual ; lest he should be seized with a trembling fit, which his enemies might interpret either to  
the



the prejudice of his courage or his innocence.

The scaffold being so crowded, that he could not be heard by the people, he directed his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly to colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been entrusted, and upon whom, as upon many others, his mild, gentle deportment had effected an entire conversion.

He asserted his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed, that he had not taken arms, till after the parliament had levied forces; nor had he any other view in his military preparations, than to maintain that authority which he had received from his ancestors.

He laid not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was rather inclined to believe that ill instruments had interposed, and inspired them with fears and jealousies concerning his future intentions. Though guiltless towards his people, he owned the equity of his fate in the eyes of his maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to be executed upon the earl of Strafford, was now, by the hand of providence, retaliated upon himself.

He freely forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but advised

vised them and the whole nation, to restore the constitution of the kingdom, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor.

When he was sitting himself for the block, bishop Juxon said to him; "there is, sir, but  
 " one stage more, which, though turbulent  
 " and troublesome, is yet of short duration.  
 " Consider, it will soon carry you a great  
 " way; it will carry you from earth to hea-  
 " ven; and there you shall receive, to your  
 " great joy, the prize, to which you aspire,  
 " a crown of glory." "I go," replied the  
 king, "from a corruptible to an incorrupti-  
 " ble crown; of which I shall never be be-  
 " reaved."

Having thus spoke, he laid his neck on the block, and, at one blow, was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner; another, in a like disguise, held up, to the spectators, the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "this is the head of a traitor."

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment which seized not only the spectators, who were dissolved in tears, but even the whole nation, so soon as they received the news of this fatal execution. No monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was ever more dear to his people,

ple than his misfortunes and calamities, his piety and resignation, had rendered this unhappy prince.

In proportion to their former hatred and aversion, was now the warmth of their love and affection; while every one upbraided himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too feeble defence of his oppressed cause.

On weaker minds, the violence of these complicated passions produced the most terrible effects. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb: others were thrown into convulsions, or seized with such a melancholy, as attended them to their grave; nay, some, unmindful of themselves, as if they could not, or would not, survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead.

The very pulpits were bedewed with involuntary tears; those pulpits, which had formerly resounded with the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him: and all men expressed their utter detestation of those hypocritical paricides, who, under the mask of religion, had performed a deed, which, soon after, brought religion itself into dispute, and fixed an indelible stain on the character of the nation.

A new



A new scene of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, not satisfied with being absent from the trial, had employed all the interest, which he yet possessed, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even persuaded his own regiment, though none else should assist him, to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers.

Cromwell and Ireton, apprized of his intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the king; and advised him to apply to heaven for direction on this important occasion: but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution.

Harrison was ordered to join in prayer with the unwary general; and he purposely continued his hypocritical cant, till news was brought that the fatal blow was given. He then rose from his knees, and assured Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which heaven had returned to their humble petitions.

It being observed, that the king, immediately before he laid his head on the block, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word "remember;" great mysteries were supposed to be couched under that expression, and the generals warmly importuned

portuned the prelate to acquaint them with the king's meaning.

Juxon told them, that the king having frequently enjoined him to recommend to his son the pardon of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he believed, would be considered as sacred and inviolable, to repeat that desire; and that his mild spirit thus finished its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

Charles was a prince of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well-complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was cable of enduring the greatest fatigues.

He excelled in riding, and other manly exercises: he inherited a good understanding from nature, and had improved it with great assiduity; his perception was clear and acute; his judgment solid and decisive; he possessed a refined taste for the liberal arts, and was a generous patron to those who excelled in painting, sculpture, music, and architecture.

He was merciful, modest, chaste, temperate, pious, and personally brave; in a word, we may say, according to the noble historian, that he was the worthiest gentleman,  
the

the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian of the age in which he lived.

It must be owned, however, that many of Charles's good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, though seemingly of little consequence, was able, when assisted by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to rob him of all their influence. His beneficent disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious: his good sense was disfigured by a deference to persons of a capacity inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from hasty and precipitant resolutions.

He deserves the epithet of a virtuous prince, rather than of a great monarch; and was better fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to yield to the pretensions of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue them. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first purpose: he possessed not the vigour and resolution necessary for the second.

Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense would have rendered his reign happy, and his memory revered. Had the limits of the prerogative been, in his time, thoroughly fixed and ascertained, his integrity would have prevented him from invading the boundaries of the constitution.

Unhappily for him, as well as the nation, fortune threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns encouraged the exercise of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran strongly towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so difficult a situation, he may be excused; since, even after the event, when it is commonly easy to rectify all errors, one is at a loss to determine what other conduct, in his circumstances, he could have pursued than what he actually followed, or what expedients could he at once have supported the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation.

Matters of religion compose a considerable part of Charles's history and afflictions; and some authors have ventured to deny, on account of the concessions which he made in favour of presbytery, that he died a martyr to the church of England: but the preceding pages sufficiently refute that allegation.

It is to be remarked to his immortal honour, that, notwithstanding his love and affection for his queen's person, he never entertained the most distant thought of adopting her religion; and we have it from unquestionable authority, that when he was at Oxford, and was going to receive the sacrament  
from

from the hands of archbishop Usher, he made the following declaration: " My lord, " I here copy the example of many deter- " mined Protestants, who may declare to the " world, the resolution which I now make. " I have, to the utmost of my power, pre- " pared myself to become a worthy commu- " nicant; and may I so receive comfort from " the blessed sacrament, as I sincerely intend " the establishment of the true Protestant re- " ligion, as it stood, in its beauty, in the " happy days of queen Elizabeth, without " any connivance at popery. I bless God, " that in the midst of these public distracti- " ons, I have still liberty to communicate; " and may this sacrament be my damnation, " if my heart does not join with my lips in " this protestation.\*

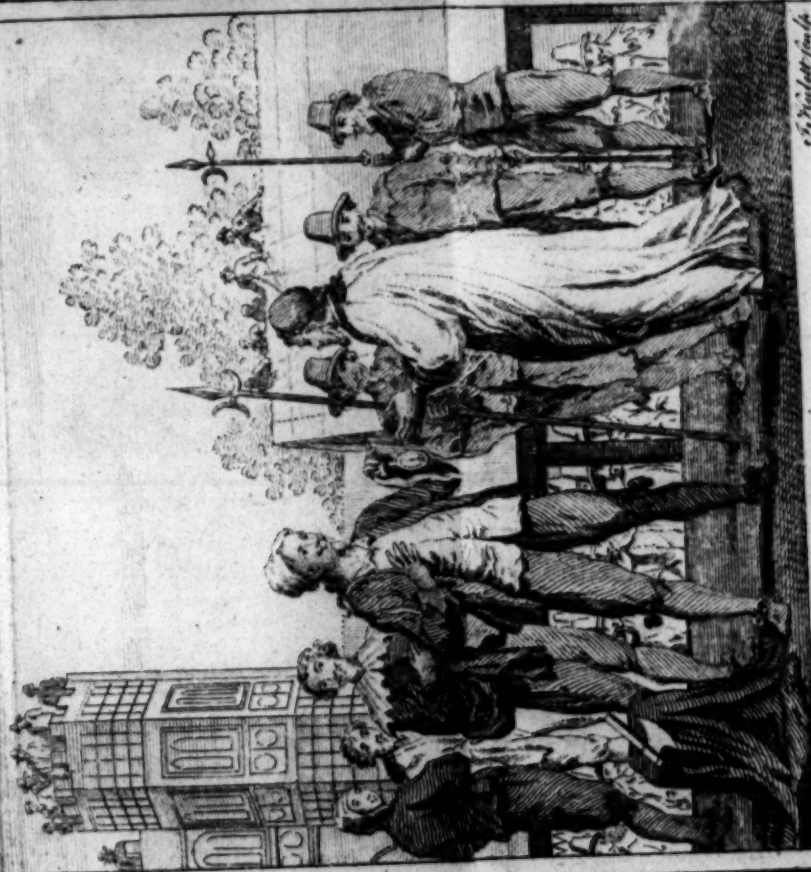
\* Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four sons and five daughters: viz. Charles-James, who died in his infancy; Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded; James, duke of York, who succeeded his brother; Henry, duke of Gloucester, who died after the Restoration: Mary, who espoused William of Nassau, prince of Orange, by whom she was left a widow; Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbroke-Castle, where she died of grief; Anne, and Catherine, who died infants; and Henrietta-Maria, who was carried by her governess, the countess of Dalkeith into France, where she married Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, only brother to Lewis XIV.

Charles was not only a patron of the learned, but likewise a man of letters himself. His *Icon Basilike*, containing a collection of prayers and meditations, is a work of considerable merit, and does great honour to the royal author. The authenticity, however, of this performance, has been much questioned by some writers, and confidently ascribed to Dr. Gauden. Wagstaffe has undertaken the defence of the royal cause: Toland, that of the other party: and the arguments, advanced on both sides, it must be owned, are so strong and convincing, and indeed so exactly counterpoised, that an impartial and unprejudiced reader will find it extremely difficult to come to any determined opinion on the subject.

A few days after the king's death, his statue in the Royal Exchange was thrown down; and, on the pedestal, these words were inscribed: *Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus*; The tyrant is gone, the last of kings.



The Martyrdom of  
CHARLES I.



W. H. W. 1664

Engraved for Richard History of England.



*The Discovery of the Popish Plot &c.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England.*







CROMWEL .



Engrave for Rider's History of England.





# The COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1649.

**T**HE parliament, for so we must henceforth term a small and inconsiderate part of the house of commons, having murdered their sovereign, with so many appearing circumstances of solemnity and justice, and so much real violence, and even fury, proceeded to settle the government of the state.

They issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of incurring the penalty of treason, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, as sovereign of England. They likewise voted, that they should make no more addresses to the house of lords, nor receive any more from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished: the peers, however, might still be elected as members of the lower house.

They afterwards passed an act, abolishing the king's power as useless, burdensome, and dangerous; and decreed, that the nation should be governed by the representatives of

## 186 *The History of* ENGLAND.

the people, sitting in the house of commons, under the form of a republic.

On their new great seal were engraved the arms of England and Ireland, circumscribed "The Great Seal of England;" the other side represented the house of commons, surrounded with this motto, "In the first Year of Freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of persons, entitled the Conservators of the Liberties of England; and all public orders were issued in their name, under the direction of parliament.

A council of state was named consisting of thirty-nine members,\* to whom all addresses were made, who gave all instructions to generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament.

Another high court of justice was erected, to try some noblemen, who remained in custody;

\* Their names were the earls of Denbigh, Mufgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, the lords Grey, Fairfax, lord Grey of Groby, lord Lisle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Hazelrig, Harrington, Vane, jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, White-locke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton. Heveningham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

tody ; and Bradshaw was again chosen president. The persons whose fate was to be determined by this tribunal, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, whom the king had created earl of Norwich, and sir John Owen ; all of them accused of having carried arms against the parliament.

The duke of Hamilton pleaded, that he was not a subject of England ; but a prisoner of war, taken in open hostility, acting by virtue of a commission from the parliament of his own country. The judges replied, that he was tried as earl of Cambridge ; and that having accepted that title, and sat in the English parliament, he was to be considered as a subject of England.

The earl of Holland, being oppressed with age and infirmities, made little or no defence. The earl of Norwich said, that he had been bred from his youth in the court, and received many favours from his sovereign, whom he thought himself bound, as well in duty as in gratitude, to obey.

Lord Capel declined the authority of the court, and demanded a fair trial by his peers, if he had acted any thing contrary to the laws. He asserted, that, when Colchester was taken, general Fairfax had promised that his life should be spared : but the general de-  
claring

claring that he had only exempted him from military execution, this promise was finally over-ruled.

Sir John Owen said; that he had served the king according to his conscience and the oath of allegiance, which he had taken. They were all convicted and condemned to lose their heads. Upon hearing the sentence, Sir John Owen thanked the court with a profound bow, for adjudging him to such an honourable death; and swore, by God! he was afraid they would have ordered him to be hanging like a common felon.

This gentleman, however, and the earl of Norwich, were reprieved, the other three were immediately executed. Hamilton and Capel, a little before their trial, had made their escape from prison: but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the parliamentary leaders replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they should suffer; since it had permitted them to fall into the hands of their enemies, after they had once recovered their liberty.

The commons, finding themselves exposed, from their scanty number, to the reproach and ridicule of the nation, resolved to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they stood.

They

They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members; but upon this express condition, that they should sign a writing called "The Engagement," renouncing all the concessions made by the late king in the treaty of Newport, approving the proceedings against him, and obliging themselves to be faithful to the republic, and the administration established under the house of commons, without king or peers. By this expedient, they excluded all those who were known enemies to the Independents, or secret friends of the royal cause.

But notwithstanding their inconsiderable number, the parliament found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, engaged in mutual hostilities, had not leisure nor inclination to interfere in the domestic quarrels of this island.

The young king, helpless and forlorn, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, consoled himself, amidst all his distresses, with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland engaged the attention of the new republic.

After the successive defeats of Montross and Hamilton, and the final ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland was engrossed by

Argyle and the rigid Presbyterians, that party, which was most indisposed to the royal cause.

Their hatred, however, towards the Independents was greater than that towards the king, and induced them to adopt maxims very different from what they had formerly professed. Though requested by the English parliament to establish a republican form of government, they determined still to adhere to monarchy, the constitution which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the very terms of the Covenant, they were bound to support.

They were sensible too, that as the property of the kingdom was chiefly possessed by the great families, it would be difficult to erect a commonwealth, or, without some first magistrate, invested with regal authority, to maintain peace or order in the community.

The throne, therefore, being become vacant by the death of the late king; they instantly proclaimed his son and successor, Charles the second; but upon condition, that he should agree to such terms as were judged necessary for securing the liberties, civil and religious, of the kingdom. The English commonwealth, having no pretext to intermeddle in the affairs of that kingdom, suffered, the  
Scots,



Scots, for the present, to settle their government after their own manner.

Ireland, being subject to the dominion of England, demanded a more anxious and more immediate care. When Ormond, in obedience to the command of his majesty, surrendered Dublin, and the other fortresses, to the parliamentary forces; he came over to England, was admitted to the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgment for all his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London.

But being banished, together with other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing the cause of his master entirely ruined, and even his person threatened with the most imminent danger, he thought proper to withdraw into France; where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

As soon, however, as he heard of the tragical death of his sovereign, he instantly returned into Ireland, and forming a confederacy of the Catholics, as well as of such Protestants as adhered to the royal cause, he assembled sixteen thousand men, with which he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons.

Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was surrendered by the soldiers, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts, were reduced. Dublin was threaten-  
ed

ed with a siege ; and the affairs of the lieutenant in a short time appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of repairing in person into Ireland.

The commonwealth, having brought the government of England to some kind of settlement, began to turn their attention towards the neighbouring island. During the struggle between the two parties, the administration of Ireland had always been a great object of intrigue ; and the Presbyterians endeavoured to procure the lieutenancy for Waller ; the Independents for Lambert.

After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a government, where so much glory, he saw, might be gained, and so much interest acquired. In his absence, he took care to have his name mentioned in the council of state ; and both friends and enemies united immediately, in voting him into that honourable post. The former imagined, that the motion had been made at his own request : the latter wanted to remove him to a distance, and flattered themselves, that, during his absence, they should be able to open the eyes of Fairfax, whom he had hitherto blinded by his hypocritical professions.

Cromwell forgot not to continue the farce : when apprized of his election, he affected surprize,

surprize, and seemed at first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command : and Lambert, either deceived by his hypocrisy, or pretending, in his turn, to be deceived, still preserved, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwell.

The new lieutenant immediately began to make preparations for his future expedition ; but it first behoved him fully to compose the present disorders which prevailed in England. The people confounded at the successes of the army, remained in a kind of seeming tranquillity : yet symptoms of the highest discontent every-where appeared.

It had been necessary to change the magistracy of London, and even to punish the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for abolishing monarchy could be published in the city. The engagement framed for supporting the Commonwealth without king or house of peers, the army were with some difficulty persuaded to subscribe ; but though it was imposed upon the rest of the nation, under the penalty of putting all who refused it out of the protection of the law ; so great was the aversion of the people to this measure, that the parliament was obliged to abandon the attempt.

The spirit of fanaticism, which that assembly had so long encouraged, was now turned, in a great measure, against them. The Presby-

terians and disguised royalists, being chiefly possessed of the pulpits, could not, by any menaces, be deterred from uttering the most bitter invectives against the established government.

The people, in general, were filled with the most absurd and ridiculous notions, and were guilty of the wildest and most extravagant actions. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached, that the time was now come when Christians were to enjoy all things in common, led out his hearers to take possession of the land; and, pitching his tent on St. George's Hill in Surry, began to cultivate the ground with great industry; but, being seized, he was carried before a magistrate, whom, however, he refused to salute, because he was but his fellow-creature.

What seemed the most alarming; the army itself was infected with the same dangerous spirit\*. Though the levellers had for a time been

\* Walker, in his history of Independency, gives the following instance of the extravagant notions which then prevailed. About this time, says he, there came six soldiers into the parish church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his sermon. One of the soldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, with a candle burning in it, and in the other hand some candles not lighted. He desired the parishioners to stay a-while, saying, he had a message from God unto them; and thereupon

been suppressed, by the vigour and resolution of Cromwell, they still continued to propagate their doctrines among the soldiers and inferior officers, who claimed a right of being consulted, as formerly, in the government of the nation.

They

thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refusing to give him leave to do so, or to stay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them, that he had a vision, wherein he had a command from God, to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they were to receive, upon pain of damnation; consisting of five lights. 1. "That  
" the sabbath is abolished, as unnecessary, Jewish, and  
" merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I should  
" put out the first light, but the wind is so high I  
" cannot kindle it. 2. That tythes are abolished, as  
" Jewish and ceremonial, a great burthen to the saints  
" of God, and a discouragement of industry and til-  
" lage. And here I should put out my second light, &c.  
" 3. That ministers are abolished, as antichristian, and  
" of no longer use, now Christ himself descends into  
" the hearts of his saints, and his spirit enlighteneth  
" them with revelations and inspirations. And here  
" I should put out my third light, &c. 4. Magi-  
" strates are abolished as useless, now that Christ is  
" in purity amongst us, and hath erected the kingdom  
" of the saints upon earth. Besides, they are ty-  
" rants and oppressors of the liberty of the saints,  
" and tie them to laws and ordinances, mere human  
" inventions: and here I put out my fourth light, &c.  
5. Then putting his hand in his pocket, and pulling

They now employed against their officers the same weapons, which they had formerly been taught to use against the parliament. They drew up a remonstrance, addressed to the general council of state, and sent it by the hands of five agitators; these, however, met with a very unfavourable reception; they were instantly cashiered by sentence of a court-martial.

One Lackier, having carried his sedition to a higher pitch, was sentenced to death; but this punishment, far from extinguishing, seemed to increase the flame: above a thousand of his companions shewed their approbation of his conduct, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by way of favour.

About four thousand met at Burford, under the direction of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general colonel Reynolds; and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwell attacked

out a little bible, he shewed it open to the people, saying, "here is a book you have in great veneration, consisting of two parts, the Old and New Testament: I must tell you it is abolished; it containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes; but now Christ is in glory amongst us, and imparts a farther measure of his spirit to his saints than this can afford; I am commanded to turn it before your face. Then putting out the candle, he said, and here my fifth light is extinguished."

them



them suddenly: four hundred were taken prisoners; some of them put to death, the rest pardoned; and this mutinous spirit, though it still lay concealed in the army, and broke out when occasion offered, seemed, for the present, to be totally suppressed.

Cromwell, in the mean time, continued his military preparations with great activity. While he was assembling an army of twelve thousand men in the west of England, he sent to Ireland, under the command of Reynolds and Venables, a body of four thousand horse and foot, to reinforce Jones the parliamentary general, and enable him to make head against the marquis of Ormond, who lay at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, and began to threaten that city with a siege.

In order to prevent Jones from receiving any further supplies, Ormond began the reparation of an old fort situate at the gates of Dublin; and, being quite spent with continual fatigue, he had retired to rest, after giving orders to his troops to keep under arms.

Hardly, however, had he fallen asleep, when he was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing; and, starting from his bed, saw everything already in the utmost confusion. Jones, a brave and experienced officer, formerly a lawyer, had made a sally with the reinforcement lately arrived; and falling on the party

now occupied in repairing the fort, he gave them a total defeat ; improved the advantage ; and came up with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw into disorder ; put them to rout, in spite of all the endeavours of the lord lieutenant ; drove them off the field ; seized all their baggage, ammunition, and provision ; and after killing about three thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners, returned in triumph to Dublin.

This loss, which brought Ormond's military character into some discredit, gave a fatal blow to the royal cause. That numerous army, which, with so much labour and industry, the lieutenant had been levying for more than a twelvemonth, was entirely dispersed.

Cromwell, soon after, arrived in Dublin, where he was received with shouts and acclamations of joy. Without delay, he advanced to Tredah, a town well fortified, and supplied by Ormond with a good garrison of three thousand men under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation.

The lieutenant judged, that as Tredah lay in the neighbourhood of Dublin, it would be first attempted by Cromwell, and he was desirous of engaging the enemy some time in  
that

that siege, while he himself should re-assemble his scattered forces.

But Cromwell knew the importance of dispatch. Harvey making a breach in the works, he instantly ordered a general assault. Tho' he was repulsed with great loss, he still returned to the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, were among the first who entered the place. All opposition was bore down by the irresistible fury of the troops. The town was taken by storm; and orders being issued to grant no quarter, a cruel massacre was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers, rather from fatigue than clemency, were next day murdered in cold blood by orders from the general. One person alone of the whole garrison escaped to carry the news of the universal destruction. About thirty were sold slaves to Barbadoes.

Cromwell pretended, that this severe execution was only in revenge of the Irish massacre: but he well knew, that almost the whole garrison were English. This justice was only a cruel policy, in order to intimidate all other garrisons into an immediate submission.

His policy, however, produced the desired effect. Advancing instantly to Wexford, he began to cannonade the town. The garrison, after a faint resistance, offered to surrender:

der: but before they could procure a cessation, they imprudently relaxed in their vigilance; and the English army rushing in, committed the same barbarities, which had been practised at Tredah.

After this Cromwell met with no farther opposition. Every town, before which he appeared, immediately opened its gates. Ross, though defended by a strong garrison, was delivered up by lord Taffe. Having taken possession of Estionage; Cromwell threw a bridge over the Barrow, and reduced Passage and Carric. Owen O'Neal, the chief of the Catholics in Ulster, laid down his arms, and soon after died.

The English had no other difficulties to encounter, than what arose from fatigue, and the severity of the weather. The army was seized with fluxes and contagious distempers, which proved fatal to many. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford; and Cromwell had penetrated so far into the enemy's country, that he began to find it impossible either to maintain his forces, or to retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these difficulties, Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, revolted to him; and, opening their gates, resolved to embrace the cause of their victorious countrymne.

This

This desertion of the English completed the ruin of Ormond's authority, which was already much impaired by the defeats at Dublin, Tredah, and Wexford. The Irish, influenced by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be retained in obedience by a Protestant governor, who was so unfortunate in all his undertakings.

The priests renewed their anathemas against him and his adherents, and heightened the terrors of a victorious enemy by those arising from a mistaken religion. Cromwell, reinforced by a fresh body of troops from England, again took the field early in the spring.\* After a short siege, he reduced Kilkenny, the only place where he met with any vigorous opposition.

The Irish confederacy being now, in a manner, entirely dissolved, Ormond, soon after, withdrew from the island, and transferred his authority to Clanricarde, who found the king's affairs irretrievably ruined.

The Irish were glad to purchase their safety by a voluntary banishment. About forty thousand men abandoned their country and entered into foreign service; and Cromwell, pleased to free the island from enemies, who could never be reconciled to the English go-

\* A. D. 1650.

vernment, allowed them to embark without molestation.

While Cromwell gathered such a plentiful crop of laurels in Ireland, which, in the space of nine months, he had almost entirely conquered, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland.

Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Joseph Douglas brought him the news of his being proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament. At the same time, Douglas acquainted him with the rigid conditions annexed to the proclamation, and which diminished extremely that joy, which he might otherwise have received from such an event.

Mean while, it behoved him to retire from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were sincerely devoted to his interest. Besides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely popular, all men beheld with pity his helpless and forlorn condition; and expressed their warmest wishes for his happy and immediate restoration.

But notwithstanding these favourable dispositions of the public, the states were very uneasy at his presence. They dreaded the commonwealth, so formidable by their power, and so successful in all their undertakings. They were afraid of incurring the displeasure



pleasure of men so fixed and determined in their purposes, and so furious and implacable in their resentments. And after the murder of Dorislaus, they found it still more necessary to gratify the English parliament by desiring the king to withdraw to a distance.

Dorislaus, though a native of Holland, had long resided in England; and being employed as an assistant to the high court of justice, which had condemned the king, he had acquired a great stock of merit with the ruling party,

They dispatched him as their ambassador to Holland; but he had no sooner arrived at the Hague, than he was instantly attacked by some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They forced their way into the room, where he was sitting at supper; seized him at table without opposition; dragged him into another apartment; sacrificed him to the manes of their murdered sovereign; retired from the house with great composure; and though orders were given by the magistrates to apprehend them, these were executed with so much reluctance, that the criminals had, all of them, leisure to escape.

Charles, having spent some time at Paris, where he received no assistance, and very few civilities, retired into Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged.

Here

Here he was met by Winram of Liberton, who had been sent by the committee of estates in Scotland, to acquaint him with the conditions, to which he must necessarily agree, before he could be entrusted with the government. These conditions, it must be owned, were extremely severe; but as Charles's affairs were now in a very declining condition, he thought proper to give a civil answer to Winram, and desired commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty on the subject.

Soon after, the earls of Cassiles and Lothian, the lord Burley, Winram and other commissioners arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: the king must either give a full assent, or a flat refusal.

The terms were, that he would banish from his presence and councils all those who had been excommunicated by the church: that he would declare upon oath, and by writing signed with his privy-seal, his approbation of the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms, and fulfil the intention of them to the utmost of his power: that he would confirm and ratify the acts of parliament, commanding the subscription of these covenants, establishing the Presbyterian form of worship, the directory, the confession of faith,  
and

and the catechism t that he would observe them himself ; cause them to be observed by others ; and never suffer them to be changed : and lastly, that in civil affairs, he should govern himself by the advice of parliament ; in ecclesiastical by that of the general assembly.

The king held a consultation of his friends in order to deliberate concerning the course, which, in the present emergence, he ought to pursue ; and many arguments were warmly urged on both sides of the question ; but the unhappy fate of the marquis of Montros, of which he was, about this time, informed, at last entirely determined his choice.

Montros, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had withdrawn into France, and contrary to his natural temper, lived for some time inactive at Paris.

He there contracted an acquaintance with the famous cardinal de Ritz ; and that acute judge celebrates him in his memoirs, as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be found in Plutarch. Desirous of accomplishing himself in the military art, he took a journey into Germany, was treated with great respect by the emperor, was honoured with the rank of mareschal, and proposed

to raise a regiment for the imperial service.

While occupied in this business, he heard of the tragical death of the king ; and, at the same time, received from his young master a renewal of his commission as captain-general of Scotland.

His bold and enterprizing spirit, needed only this authority to put him in action. In Holland, and the north of Germany, he collected a few soldiers, whom his amiable and engaging manners, no less than his great reputation, induced to follow his fortunes.

The king of Denmark accommodated him with some small sums of money : the queen of Sweden supplied him with arms : the prince of Orange with ships : and Montrose, departing with the utmost expedition, lest the king's agreement with the Scots should make him recal his commission, arrived in the Orkneys, with about five hundred men, most of them Germans.

These were all the preparations which he could make against a kingdom blessed with domestic peace, defended by a numerous and disciplined army, previously informed of his design, and equally ready and determined to oppose him.

Some of his friends having told him of a prophecy, that to him, and him alone, it was reserved



*MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England*



reserved to restore the king's authority in all his dominions, he willingly listened to suggestions, which, however improbable or ill-founded, were so agreeable to his heroic disposition.

Having reinforced his handful of men with a few recruits, which he raised in the Orkneys, he passed over to Caithness; hoping, that the general affection to the royal cause, and the fame of his former achievements, would allure the mountaniers to his standard.

But all men were now fatigued with continual wars and disorders: many of those who had formerly followed him, had been seized and punished by the covenanters; and no hopes of success remained against so great a force as was now destined to oppose him.

But, however inconsiderable Montrose's army, the memory of his former exploits filled the whole nation with terror. Lesley and Holborne, with an army of four thousand men, were ordered to advance against him. Strahan was sent before, with a body of cavalry, in order to check his progress.

He suddenly attacked Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were defeated; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself being soon after seized, was conducted to

Edinburgh, where, notwithstanding the king's commission, he was condemned to death, which he suffered with the same intrepid spirit with which he had formerly braved it in the field.

The king, being deprived by this event of all hopes of prevailing by force, was obliged to submit to the terms, however severe, proposed by the Scottish commissioners.

In consequence of this agreement, he immediately set sail for Scotland; and, being attended by seven Dutch ships, which were sent to protect the herring-fishery, he arrived safely in the frith of Cromarty.

Before he was permitted to set foot on shore, he was required to sign the covenant; and, with this request, he thought proper to comply. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dunfermling, and other noblemen attached to the royal cause, were immediately removed from his presence, and were obliged to withdraw to their estates, where they lived without any trust or authority. None of his English friends, who had served under his father, were suffered to remain in the kingdom.

Charles himself, though treated with great respect and deference, was totally debarred from all exercise of regal power, and was allowed to indulge in no kind of amusement; and the spirit of the Scots, in religious matters, being  
at

at that time remarkably gloomy and severe, he was forced to submit to many austerities, which were extremely disagreeable to his natural temper, and which probably produced, or at least strengthened, that contempt for religion, which, during the remaining part of his life, he always discovered.

The English parliament were no sooner informed of the king's arrival in Scotland, than they immediately began to prepare for a war, which they plainly perceived, would, in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwell, having entirely subdued the spirit of the Irish, was recalled to England; and he entrusted the government of Ireland to Ireton, who was appointed deputy of that kingdom, and who treated the natives with great rigour and severity.

It was supposed, that Fairfax, who still possessed the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland, and would take the command of the armies; a station for which he was well qualified, and in which alone he made any figure.

But Fairfax, though he had suffered the army to make use of his name in murdering their sovereign, and enslaving the parliament, had conceived an unconquerable aversion against invading the Scots, whom he regarded as zealous Presbyterians, and united

to England by the sacred bands of the covenant.

He was farther dissatisfied with the violent extremities to which matters had been carried; and he was confirmed in his resolution by the advice of his wife, for whose opinion he had a great deference, and who was herself much governed by the Presbyterian clergy.

A committee of parliament was appointed to attend on him, in order, if possible, to obtain his consent; and Cromwell was one of the number. In vain did they alledge, that the Scots had first broke the covenant, by invading England under the duke of Hamilton; and that they would certainly renew their hostile attempts, if not anticipated by the vigour of the parliament.

Fairfax would hearken to no suggestions of that nature: he absolutely refused to have any concern in the prosecution of measures which he esteemed so prejudicial to the interests of both kingdoms; and, finding that the parliament were bent on their purpose, he instantly resigned the command of the army.

This command was immediately bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. Such a post, in a commonwealth, which stood entirely by arms, was a trust of the utmost importance

portance ; and was the chief step which this artful politician had yet made towards the attainment of sovereign power. Without delay he put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The command of the Scottish army was conferred on Lesley, an able officer, who laid a very proper plan for defence. He secured himself in a fortified camp, between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove, from the southern counties of Merse and the Lothians, every thing which could serve to support the English army.

Cromwell approached the Scottish camp, and attempted, by every expedient, to provoke Lesley to a battle : but the Scotchman knew, that the English army as much exceeded his in discipline and experience, as it fell short of it in point of numbers ; and he prudently kept within his intrenchments.

By skirmishes, and petty rencounters, he endeavoured to animate the spirits of his soldiers ; and he was generally successful in these enterprizes. His army every day became more numerous, and more dexterous and expert in their exercise. The king himself arrived in the camp ; and, having displayed his courage in a small excursion, engaged

gaged extremely the affections of the soldiers.

Cromwell, in the mean time, was in a bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received; nor had he even taken care to provide himself with a sufficient quantity by that channel: so that his army was reduced to the greatest extremities.

He withdrew to Dunbar: Lesley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammer-mure, which commanded the prospect of that town. Betwixt Berwick and Dunbar, there were many dangerous and difficult passes; and these Lesley had already secured.

The English general was almost deprived of every resource. He had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery; and of forcing his way, at the head of his cavalry. The folly of the Scottish clergy effectually saved him from that dishonour.

The quarrels which at that time agitated the two nations, being more of a religious than a civil nature, the clergy in both kingdoms had acquired a considerable influence in all public deliberations; and the Scottish ministers, in great numbers, now attended the camp.

These



These men, trusting so much to providence (which they firmly believed to be on their side) that they wholly neglected every human means, and constantly importuned their unhappy general to attack the English, assuring him that they had received from heaven the most clear revelation, that the Lord had delivered their enemies into their hands.

In vain did the general remonstrate against the folly and imprudence of such a measure: the private men were entirely guided by the clergy: and Lesley, after taking every precaution, though strongly apprehensive of the fatal consequence, was at last obliged to descend into the plain, and come to an engagement with the English army.

Cromwell, looking through a perspective glass, observed the Scottish camp in motion: he too, in his turn, declared, that he had received from heaven a revelation, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hands; and, indeed, it soon appeared, that his revelation, though probably as ill-founded as that of the Scots, was attended with much better success.

The Scots, raw and undisciplined, were little able to withstand the shock of such hardy and experienced veterans as the English. Though double in number to the enemy, they were instantly routed with great slaughter, and  
pursued

pursued to a considerable distance. No less than three thousand of them were left dead upon the spot, and about nine thousand taken prisoners.

Cromwell failed not to improve his advantage; he immediately advanced to Edinburgh and Leith, which he entered without opposition. The remains of the Scottish army escaped to Stirling; and the approach of winter, together with an ague which seized Cromwell, prevented him from pushing his victory any farther.

The covenanters, humbled by their late defeat, began to relax in their severity towards their sovereign: Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all his other friends, were suffered to approach him; and his coronation was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Scone.

His situation, however, though somewhat improved, was far from being easy or agreeable. Of a gay, lively, and chearful temper, he could ill digest the rigid austerities to which he was confined by the clergy, or the still more slavish subjection in which he was held by Argyle and his party.

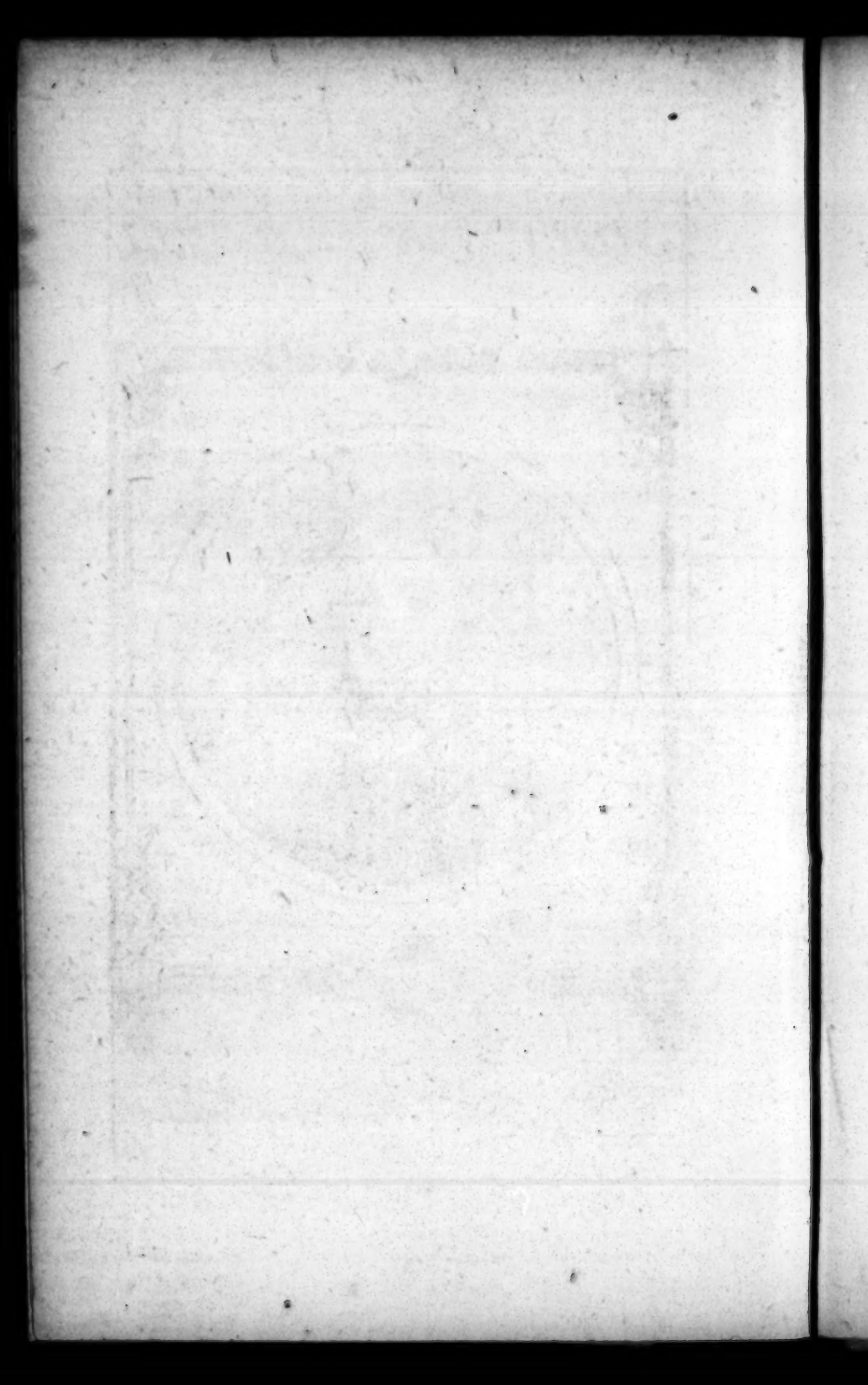
Disgusted at these and many other hardships, he resolved to attempt the recovery of his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the  
cove-

JOHN D. of ARGYLL



J. S. S. sculp

Engraved for Rider's History of England



covenanters, had retired to the mountains, where he still waited for an opportunity of serving his master. This gentleman the king determined to join.

Having found means to elope from Argyle, he fled directly towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the king, and advised him to return. Charles, finding it in vain to resist, thought proper to comply with a good grace. This incident, however, contributed somewhat to his advantage: The covenanters, afraid of driving him to some desperate resolution, was forced to treat him with greater lenity and mildness. Argyle too renewed his courtship to the king; and the king, with equal hypocrisy, pretended a great regard for Argyle. He even went so far, as to drop some hints of his inclination to espouse that nobleman's daughter; but he had to deal with a man who was not to be deceived by such gross artifices.

Early in the spring, \* the Scottish army was assembled, under Hamilton and Lesley, and encamped at Torwood, in the neighbourhood of Sterling. The king himself was present in the army; and his generals determined

\* A. D. 1651.

to pursue the same prudent and cautious measures, which so long as they were embraced, had been so successful during the former campaign.

The town of Sterling lay at his back, and the northern counties supplied him with provisions. His front was secured by strong entrenchments; and it was in vain that Cromwell used every expedient to tempt him to an engagement.

After consuming a great deal of time, the English general sent Lambert over the frith into Fife, in order to intercept the provisions of the army. He was opposed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots: but these were defeated with great slaughter. Cromwell also passed over with his whole army, and placing himself at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to remain any longer in his present situation.

Charles, reduced to extremity, embraced a resolution, worthy a prince contending for empire. The way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to advance into that country, where he imagined that all his friends, and all who were dissatisfied with the present government, would repair to his standard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his proposal; and with one consent,  
the



the army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded, by long marches, towards the south.

Cromwell was confounded at the motions of the enemy. Wholly intent on an offensive war, he had reduced himself to the necessity of supporting a defensive one, and saw the king, with a numerous army, advancing into England, where his presence, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution.

But if this conduct was a blunder in Cromwell, he quickly repaired it by his vigour and activity. He wrote letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be alarmed at the approach of the Scots: he issued orders every where for collecting forces to oppose the king: he detached Lambert, with a body of cavalry, to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and annoy them in their march: and he himself, after leaving Monk with seven thousand men, to finish the reduction of Scotland, pursued the king with the utmost expedition.

Whatever hopes of assistance the king had entertained from an invasion of England, he soon found that the event did not answer his expectation. The Scots, discouraged at the

prospect of so dangerous an enterprize, began to desert in great numbers. The English Presbyterians, being totally ignorant of the king's approach, were in no readiness to join him.

The royalists lay under the same disadvantage; and were farther deterred from joining the Scottish army, by the rigid orders which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any, even in this desperate extremity, who would not consent to subscribe the covenant.

The earl of Derby, ever since the death of his late majesty, had lived in the isle of Man, without acknowledging the authority of the parliament; and now coming over from that place, he began to exert himself with great industry in raising forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but he was soon attacked and defeated by the parliamentary army.

From all these causes, the king found, on his arrival at Worcester, that his forces, besides being fatigued by a long and hasty march, were not more numerous than when he departed from his camp in the Torwood.

By this time, Cromwell being reinforced by the militia of the several counties, approached Worcester with an army of forty thousand men. This place he attacked with incredible fury, and meeting with little opposition,

position, except from Hamilton and Middleton, broke in at once upon the disordered royalists.

The streets of the city were covered with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of great merit, was mortally wounded: Massey, wounded and taken prisoner; and the king, after giving many signal proofs of personal courage, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army were either slain or taken prisoners; and the few stragglers who escaped from the field of battle, the country people, actuated by national antipathy, cruelly put to death.

The king quitted Worcester at six o'clock in the evening, and, without stopping, travelled about twenty-six miles, accompanied by fifty or sixty of his friends. For the greater security, he thought it most adviseable to separate from his companions; and he left them, without giving the least hint of his intention.

By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To him Charles entrusted his safety.

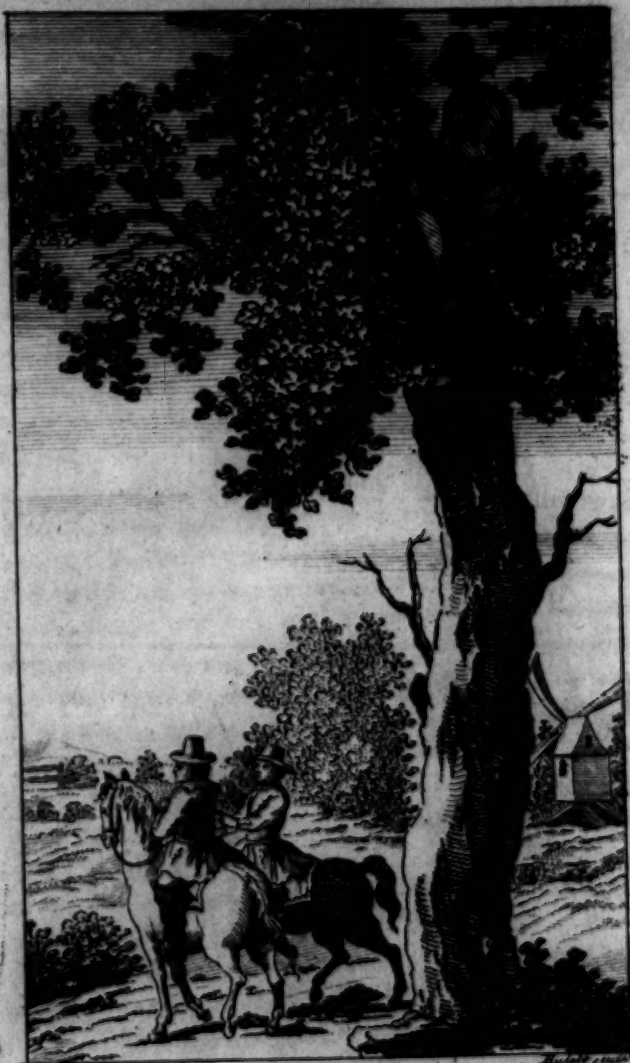
This man had sentiments of honour much above his condition; and though death was threatened against all who harboured the

king, and a great reward offered to any who should betray him, he still preserved the most unshaken fidelity. He imparted the secret to his three brothers, all equally honourable with himself, and having furnished the king with a garb like their own, they led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting wood. Some nights he lay upon straw in the the house, and lived upon such homely fare as the landlord could afford.

One day, observing a party of soldiers approach, he climbed up into an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for the space of twenty-four hours. Several soldiers passed directly under him; all of them were eager in search of the king, and many expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of apprehending him. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years was held by the royalists in great veneration.

In the course of his adventures, he was frequently exposed to dangers no less imminent. He was obliged to ride before a young lady, in the character of a servant: he was forced to hide himself in holes and lurking-places: he was known by one Pope, butler to the gentleman at whose house he resided

*CHARLES II. August 1651, when he  
saw his Pursuers under him.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England*





as the lady's servant; but the man had the honour not to discover him: he was once detected by the sagacity of a smith, who observed, that his horses shoes had been made in the North, not in the West, as he pretended; and he very narrowly escaped: at last, after a concealment of more than a month, during which he had intrusted his life to the fidelity of forty different persons; after assuming various disguises, and passing through many dangers, he embarked in a vessel at Shoreham in Suffex, and arrived safely at Fescamp, in Normandy.

The battle of Worcester, as it raised the reputation, inflamed the pride and vanity of Cromwell. So elated was he with his late success, that he intended to have knighted, in the field, two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was dissuaded by his friends from exercising this act of sovereign power.

As ambitious and aspiring in his views, as bold and successful in his actions, he could no longer brook subjection to a republic, which depended chiefly on his influence, and was supported by his victories.

At what particular period he began to entertain thoughts of assuming the reigns of government, it is impossible to determine. Cer-

tain it is, that he now hinted to his intimate friends these ambitious designs ; and even expressed a desire of being invested with the regal dignity, which he had been at so much pains to abolish. Prudent, however, and cautious in his measures, he resolved, for the present, to conceal his intentions, and to wait till time should afford an opportunity of carrying his scheme into full execution.

Notwithstanding the great numbers which had perished in the late commotions, the power of England, had never, in any period, been so formidable to the neighbouring states, as at this time it seemed in the hands of the parliament.

Blake, a man of undaunted courage, and a generous disposition, the same person, who with so much bravery, had defended Lyme and Taunton against the king, was appointed admiral ; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, in which too he had not engaged till past the age of fifty ; he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than what it had ever before attained.

Being furnished with a considerable fleet, he was ordered to sail in quest of prince Rupert, on whom the king had bestowed the command of that squadron, which had revolted to him.

Rupert

Rupert took refuge in the harbour of Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake followed him, and drove him into the Tagus, where he prepared to attack him without delay. But the king of Portugal, prepossessed in favour of the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and assisted Rupert in making his escape.

To revenge this partiality, the English admiral seized twenty Portuguese ships of great value, and threatened to proceed to farther hostilities. The king of Portugal, dreading the resentment of so powerful an enemy, and conscious of his inability to maintain so unequal a contest, was obliged to make submissions to the English republic, and was at last permitted to renew his former alliance.

Rupert had retired to the coast of Spain, where some of his ships were dashed to pieces. He afterwards sailed towards the West-Indies, where his brother, prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a storm. Destitute of provision, he was forced to support his men by privateering, sometimes on English, sometimes on Spanish vessels; and, after undergoing many hardships, and finding it impossible to do any effectual service to the king, he returned to France, where he disposed of the  
few

few ships which remained, together with all his prizes.

All the settlements in America, except New-England, which had been planted entirely by the Puritans, continued to acknowledge the royal authority, even after the settlement of the commonwealth; and Sir George Ayscue was dispatched with a squadron, in order to reduce them to subjection.

Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, made little resistance: Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, held out for a considerable time; but was at last obliged to follow the example of the other plantations. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were, with equal ease, brought under obedience.

Nor were the arms of the republic less successful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy of the former kingdom, commanding an army of thirty thousand men, persevered with great industry in subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many engagements, which, though in themselves of little importance, entirely ruined their declining cause.

All prisoners, who had any concern in the Popish massacres, were punished without mercy. Sir Phelim Oneal, among the rest,  
being

being taken, was condemned to the gallows; a punishment which, however severe to other malefactors, was too gentle for such a monster of cruelty and barbarity.

Limeric, a town of considerable strength, was still in the hands of the Irish; and Ireton, after a vigorous siege, reduced it to subjection. He was here seized with the plague, and soon after died; a man, who, though of a rigid, severe, and cruel disposition, was possessed of great vigilance, industry, and capacity, and was even celebrated for the strict execution of justice, in the several commands with which he was entrusted.

Cromwell was greatly affected at his death; and the republicans, who reposed the most implicit confidence in him, were altogether inconsolable. To express their regard for his memory, they settled a pension of two thousand pounds a year on his family; and honoured him with a magnificent funeral, at the public expence.

The command of the army in Ireland was bestowed on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The administration of civil affairs was entrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to prosecute the war with equal vigour and success, and every where defeated the dispirited Irish.

That

## 226 *The History of ENGLAND.*

That people, provoked at the king on account of those violent declarations, which, in compliance with the request of the Scots, he had issued against them, and their religion, solicited succour from the king of Spain, from the duke of Lorrain ; but no where could they find assistance. Clanricard, despairing of all relief, made submission to the republic, and came over to Ireland, where he soon after died.

Monk proceeded with the same rapid progress in the reduction of Scotland. That able general invested the castle of Sterling ; and, though it was furnished with plenty of provision and military stores, he soon compelled it to surrender. He there found all the records of the kingdom, together with the crown and sceptre ; which he transmitted to England.

The earls of Leven and Crawford, lord Ogilvy and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to form some scheme for levying a new army, were suddenly attacked by colonel Alured, and most of them made prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being convened at Dumfries for a like purpose, met with the same fate.

Dundee



Dundee was a town of considerable strength, provided with a good garrison under Lumisden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been conveyed thither as to a place of safety.

To this town Monk laid siege; and having made a breach in the wall, gave orders for a general assault. He soon entered it sword in hand; and, by exercising great severity on the garrison, struck a general terror into the rest of the kingdom.

Intimidated by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns, voluntarily submitted to the enemy. Argyle too acknowledged the authority of the commonwealth; and, excepting a few royalists, who continued some time in the mountains, under the earl of Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general Middleton, that kingdom was reduced to an entire obedience.

The English republic dispatched Sir Henry Vane, St. John, and other commissioners, to settle the government of Scotland. In order to engage the affections of the people, they would not presume to unite them in the same commonwealth with England, until they had obtained the consent of every town and county in the kingdom.

A certain

228 *The History of ENGLAND, &c.*

A certain number of judges, partly Scots, and partly English, were appointed to determine all causes ; justice was impartially administered ; order and peace preserved : and the Scots, who, in general, were more favourably inclined to the parliament than the king, were, by no means, displeased with the present establishment.



*End of the* TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

